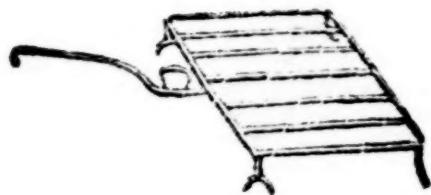


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Bolt-court, 20. February, 1834.

IN the panic of 1825, and 1826, Mr. RICHARD SPOONER called at the shop in FLEET-STREET to see my American stove; and, soon beginning to talk about the panic, he asked me what I would do with the thing, if I had it in my power to do what I liked. I told him, that I had just been reading over the NORFOLK petition, and that I would, if I could, do precisely what the county of Norfolk had prayed for in that petition. He asked me to read it. I read on till I came to that part which prays for an application of part of the church-property to public purposes, and especially to the liquidation of any part of the debt which it might be just to discharge. Upon my reading that he exclaimed: "They will never do *that*!" To which I answered, "By heavens *they will* do it, Mr. SPOONER; and be *glad* to do it, too."

Mr. SPOONER will recollect this, I am very sure; and, when he has read the account of the late county meeting in Devonshire (a large slice of the sirloin of England), and has also paid attention to what is passing, and about to pass, in Parliament, he will begin to think that I was right. Right as to the precise manner it was next to impossible to be; but right as to the substance it is now evident that I was. I beg my readers to read with care, and to pay particular attention to this transaction in Devonshire, which is, in fact, the

greatest, in natural resources; in solid, unalienable, unchangeable, resources, of all the counties of England. A few other counties are higher in rental, and pay a great deal more in taxes; but the property in these is here to-day and gone to-morrow. Even the agriculture in Norfolk, and in some other counties, is rather a creation of man and of circumstances, and, therefore, of a fluctuating and uncertain nature. This county has the value in itself; it is what it always was, and it always must be what it is now. It is, perhaps, as much of a church county as any in England. With the exception of the seaport of PLYMOUTH, it has no great towns, and it knows very little, comparatively, about dissenters of any sort, except the Methodists, who do not differ in doctrines from the church itself. So that the sentiments and the intentions of the people of this great county are worthy of the greatest attention.

It will be seen that the meeting of the county was very numerous; that it was attended by many members of Parliament; and that, after long discussion, displaying great ability, this great body of proprietors and occupiers of land, came to a decision, that THE TITHES OUGHT TO BE REDUCED TO A TENTH PART OF THE RENT, instead of a tenth part of the produce of the land. It is very well known that Lord EBRINGTON is a great favourite in Devonshire, and, particularly, amongst the reformers of the county, who now make a very great majority. A gentleman of that county, writing to me better than a year ago, I think it was, observed, "that we have one member that can be relied upon at all times, and that is Lord EBRINGTON." The noble lord (as would be seen by the report of the proceedings) could not give his support to the petition; it will be seen (I am afraid not until the next *Register*), that he was not received in the usual manner; it will be seen that a great majority of the persons present

expressed their disapprobation of this part of his conduct ; and it is very curious, that amongst the rest of this majority, appears to have been the gentleman who wrote to me in so confident a manner with respect to Lord EBRINGTON, and who will recollect that I told him, that Lord EBRINGTON would not go the full length that he expected him to go. Indeed, he cannot go that length, without making up his mind to the *total annihilation of the establishment* ; and this is not to be expected of him, and was not to be expected of him ; so that, if his constituents be deceived, they are the authors of their own deception.

I do not know how many times, or rather, how many hundred times, since the year 1814 inclusive, I have had to observe, that the French war would produce *every effect which it was intended to prevent*. This is a very curious thing : it is as interesting a point in the history of mankind as any that that history presents. It shows that, when a people have reason and justice on their side, either a government must yield to them, or, in the end, they will prevail over the government, and will make it worse for the governing powers than it would have been, if the reasonable and just demands of the people had been granted at once ; that, in the end, the people will demand more, and demand and obtain things that they never would have dreamed of demanding. Who, that recollects the state of England fifty years ago, as I do, can help being astonished, when he carries himself back to that period ; can help being astonished at the present universal outcry against the tithes ! Why, the tithes used to be taken generally in kind ; the tithes used to be taken out of the fields of my father, and carried to the parsonage-barn, without our thinking that there was any thing unjust in the thing ; and so far, in our particular case (and it was the general case in a large parish), were we from feeling hostility towards the tithe-owner (a lay impropiator, too), that I have been sent, many a time, when we were in a hurry to carry a field of corn, to stick

the boughs into the cocks or the shocks, while the old hobbling tithing-man, by moving about the field a little, counted the shocks, or the cocks, and pointed out those into which I was to stick the boughs. What a change ! Now, all is hostility between the parties ; all is grudging on one side, and greediness on the other. By degrees the tithes have become commuted all over the kingdom ; and it is this circumstance, added to the shameful pluralities, and consequent non-residence, that has been the cause of the overthrow of the church ; or, rather, they have been the cause of alienating the attachment of the people to it ; and have marked it out as a something to be sacrificed to the money-monster created by the French war. While tithes were taken *in kind*, the parson had his foot upon the land ; his right was not only not disputed, but it was obvious ; it was visible to all eyes ; and, observe, he had labourers to employ in the thrashing and carting, and the foddering of cattle ; and he was a good employer, because his corn was constantly going to the market, and he had constantly the means of employment and of payment. He must be a very unobserving man, a very poor "*feclosifer*," who does not know how much more willingly men part with their produce, or their goods, than they part with *money*. It is very curious, but it is very true, that a man thinks very little about paying you a sum, if you will take it out in goods. How rejoiced I should be if Lord ALTHORP would take my share of the taxes out in books. To be sure, mine is a sort of goods, the power of *creating which* is in good hands ; but not a tailor, shoemaker, haberdasher, nor even cheesemonger, or butcher, that would not rather pay in kind than in money. Aye, but when you come to the *farmer*, his sack of wheat is money : he knows he can have three pounds for the sack that very day, by taking it to market ; and he can have three shillings over for the trouble of carrying it there. He has three pounds to pay you, and he has the money in his drawers ; it is, therefore, no difference to him, in fact, whe-

ther he give you the three pounds, or give you the sack of wheat; but when you go to demand the money, only tell him that you will take a sack of wheat instead, and see how his countenance will brighten up in a moment. There was a farmer in *Long Island*, who owed me thirty dollars. He was a rich fellow. When he came to pay me, he pulled out a bag that had a hundred dollars in it, I dare say; but he took care not to open the bag, and very soon slipped it back again into his coat pocket, asking me, as he put it back, whether *I did not want some corn*. Now, the corn was dollars; he had only to take it to NEW YORK, twenty miles upon a smooth road, and there take the money for every grain of corn that he had. The conversation that ensued between us, I endeavouring to convince him that he might as well give me the money as give me the corn, and he endeavouring to persuade me that it would be better for me to have the corn than the money, was of considerable length; and it ended at last with his carrying off his bag of dollars untouched, and agreeing to send me in the corn for two dollars less than I must have paid him or somebody else for the very same corn, and probably the next day. This was not from want of acuteness in him; he understood all the matter as well as I did; but, having the dollars in the bag, his reluctance to let them out got the better of his reason and his arithmetic.

In the year 1800, when I returned the first time from the United States of America, the late Mr. POULTER, brother-in-law of Bishop NORTH, and a Prebendary of WINCHESTER, with a couple of livings in the church, and one of whose sons is now a member of the House of Commons, for whom I have a very great respect, on account of the efforts which he made to mitigate the fate of the poor fellows at WINCHESTER, in 1830; that Mr. POULTER, at the time just mentioned, showed me a project of his, in print, for making "*a compulsory composition for tithes*," which he had submitted, or was about to submit, to Mr. PITT. I gave him my opinion upon the subject, which was this: that, if once

the power of taking up tithes in kind were taken away by law, the church-establishment must, in a very short time, be totally destroyed. This is now to be done, at the very least; and it is clear to me that the church establishment cannot outlive that law, but for a very few years, even supposing no other cause of destruction to be at work. When the thing becomes a mere money payment, then it will be viewed simply as a tax, as a burden, an unnecessary, and, therefore, an unjust burden. How is it that tithes have existed for about a thousand years; and, for the far greater part of the time, and until within the last forty years, or thereabouts, without any grudging on the part of any body? In the time of the religion of our forefathers, there were abundant reasons for this harmony between the tithe-receivers and the tithe-payers; because then, while there was but one religion in the country too, the necessitous part of the people were relieved out of the tithes as out of their patrimony; and because the priest of the parish was continually on the spot. To be sure, since that time, and under this present church, the poor have not been relieved out of the tithes, nor have the churches been repaired out of the tithes; but, still this church would have stood, in spite of the dissent from it, and in spite of the weight of the taxes, which is one of the causes that are now shaking it down, had pluralities not existed, had residence been enforced, and had the tithes everywhere been constantly taken in kind. Get upon a hill (if you can find one) in Suffolk or Norfolk, and you can find plenty in Hampshire and Devonshire and Wiltshire; look at the church-steeple, one in about every four square miles at the most, on an average. Imagine a man of some learning, at the least, to be living in a genteel and commodious house, by the side of every one of those steeples; almost always with a wife and family; always with servants, natives of the parish, gardener, groom, at the least, and all other servants. A large farm-yard; barns, stables, thrashers, a carter or two, more or less of glebe, and of farm-

ing. Imagine this gentleman, having an interest, an immediate and pressing interest, in the productiveness of every field in his parish; being, probably, the largest corn-seller in the parish, and the largest rate-payer; more deeply interested than any other man can possibly be in the happiness, harmony, morals, industry, and sobriety of the people of his parish. Imagine his innumerable occasions for doing acts of kindness; his immense power in preventing the strong from oppressing the weak; his salutary influence, coming between the hard farmer, if there be one in his parish, and the feeble or simple-minded labourer. Imagine all this to exist close alongside of every one of those steeples; and you will at once say to yourself, "Hurricane or earthquakes must destroy the island before that church can be over-set." And, when you add to all this, that this gentleman, besides the example of good manners, of mildness, and of justice, that his life and conversation are constantly keeping before the eyes of his parishioners; when you add to all this, that, one day in every week, he has them assembled together to sit in silence, to receive his advice, his admonitions, his interpretation of the will of God as applicable to their conduct and their affairs, and that, too, in an edifice rendered sacred in their eyes from their knowing, that their forefathers assembled there, in ages long passed, and from its being surrounded by the graves of their kindred; when this is added, and when it is recollected, that the children pass through his hands at their baptism; that it is he alone who celebrates the marriages, and performs the last sad service over the graves of the dead: when you think of all this, it is too much to believe it possible that such a church can fall. Yet fall it will; and that, too, without any violence from any quarter; and this is the most curious and interesting circumstance of all. The "REFORMATION" (as it is most falsely called) was effected by violence. It was engendered in the wickedest of motives, and carried on and ended by acts of plunder and of blood. The scaffold was continually streaming with

blood: and the rack continually at work, for upwards of fifty years. This church was established by more violence and more cruelty than ever were before witnessed in the world. There will require no scaffolds and no racks to wean the people from it. It has abandoned itself, by degrees; and, at last, it is abandoned completely by the people; I mean by the church people; while its natural enemies, the dissenters, have been increasing in influence, in just the same degree that the church has been losing its influence; and, of the two, the dissenters feel less hostility to the establishment, as now carried on, than is felt towards it by the church people themselves.

I have, above, called upon the reader to get upon a hill, view the steeples, and imagine the state of the parishes and the strength of the church, with a resident clergy, gathering their tithes in kind. But, in standing upon a hill now and surveying the steeples, what is he now to imagine? Let him get upon the top of the **KEEP**, for instance, of the ancient castle which stands at the back of the palace of the Bishop of **WINCHESTER**, at **FARNHAM**, in **SURREY**. We will not leave him to imagination here, but describe the reality. Just beneath him, he sees the parish church; he surveys a large and beautiful parish, rich in corn fields, beautiful meadows, and the fine and far-celebrated hop-gardens. He sees the rectorial tithes taken away by a lay-impropriator; he sees the vicarial tithes taken away by a non-resident vicar; he sees tithes to the amount of two thousand pounds a year and upwards taken far away and spent by these two persons; and he sees a curate performing the duties of this immensely productive parish for one hundred pounds a year; that is to say, about three times the wages of a middling labouring man who digs in the hop-gardens; not twice the wages of a journeyman carpenter or bricklayer; not so much as the wages of a good journeyman locksmith in London; and this, observe, in, I believe, the very finest parish, all taken together, in the whole kingdom. Lifting his eyes from

this parish church, standing on the verge of the meadows on the side of the river, he looks over the hill on the other side of the valley, and there he sees the large agricultural parish of FRENTHAM, yielding tithes to the amount of five hundred pounds a year; he sees a miserable curate there with a stipend of forty pounds a year. Shocked at that sight, he turns away his eyes a little to the left, but there they are met by the parish of ELSTEAD, with tithes again amounting to five hundred a year, and with a still more wretched curate, for this one has only twenty pounds a year! "This is too bad!" exclaims the zealous churchman; and, turning his eyes in disgust from the south, and looking to the west, as it were, towards WINCHESTER, silently beseeching the Right Reverend the Bishop, the "overseer of the shepherds," to come and bring them back to their abandoned flocks; there his eyes, the moment they get over the confines of the parish of FARNHAM, are met by the fine and productive parish of BENTLEY, where he finds tithes amounting to eight hundred pounds a year, and a wretched curate living upon a stipend of twenty-eight pounds a year. Exclaiming "Oh, God of justice and mercy!" he hastily turns his eyes from the west toward the east, and the first spot on which they alight, are the two parishes of SEAL and TONGHAM, with tithes amounting to three hundred and fifty pounds a year, and with one miserable curate between them, with a stipend of five-and-twenty pounds a year. Shocked and disgusted beyond measure, but still hoping to find in the north some little thing to apologize for the south and the west and the east, and for the spot where he stands, he turns about; and, again on the confines of the parish of FARNHAM, the first thing that his eyes alight on is the parish of ALDERSHOTT. "Thank God!" says he to himself, "this is in the church-loving county of Hants!" The cathedral of WINCHESTER and the Bishop's See will certainly secure something here for "the cure of souls." Upon looking closer, he starts back, and ex-

claims, "What! tithes amounting to six hundred and fifty pounds sterling a year; a miserable curate allowed fifteen pounds a year, and the tithes carried away by a clerical corporation, of which the Earl of GUILDFORD is the head, and while that Earl of GUILDFORD has four livings, or the tithes of four parishes in that same diocese of WINCHESTER, over and above his large share of the tithes of the parish of ALDERSHOTT!" After this survey of the reality; after this survey of seven contiguous parishes, in which he sees not one resident rector or vicar; in which he sees no clergyman able to keep a servant of any description; in which he sees seven men called parsons, each of them with no more influence than a journeyman carpenter or bricklayer; from which seven parishes he sees taken, to be spent far away, tithes to the amount of five thousand pounds a year; and in which he sees seven clergymen living, altogether, upon two hundred and forty-eight pounds a year; after beholding and contemplating this spectacle, he, though lamenting the conclusion, comes to the conclusion that it is impossible that this church can stand. He exclaims, in the bitterness of his heart; he exclaims, in the words of the prophets ZACHARIAH and EZEKIEL, "Woe to the idle shepherd that leaveth the flock! Woe to the shepherds of ISRAEL that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe ye with wool: ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them, and they were scattered, because there was no shepherd. Thus saith the Lord God. Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hands, and cause them to cease feeding the flock, neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more;

"for I will deliver my flock from *their* mouth, that they may not be meat for *theirs*."

How many societies are there for promoting the reading of the Bible! And, if the people do read the Bible; and if they do regard it as the word of God, as they ought, how are they to believe that it is right that the church should continue in its present state?

The people know, also, that every man who is in holy orders, has made a contract with the nation to do something for the people in return for the tithes and other church emoluments. They make a *contract*; they make solemn vows; and, are those vows to pass for nothing? and *what are these vows*? Because, when we are talking of vested rights, and of law on the side of the parsons, we have a right to inquire, whether they have kept their part of the compact. They have made a *contract*; and, now, let us see whether they have observed their part of it. What is the contract?

What is the *contract* which they make with the nation? What is the obligation which they take upon them? What are the duties that they most solemnly engage to perform? At their ordination they solemnly profess, that they "believe that they are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the office, to serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people." They declare also, that they are "determined, with the Scriptures, to *instruct the people that shall be committed to their charge*; they promise that they will give their *faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same according to the commandment of God*; that they will *teach the people committed to their cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same*; that they *will be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word*: and to use public and private admonitions and ex-

hortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within their cures, as need shall require, and occasion be given; that they will be diligent in the prayers and in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, *laying aside the study of the world and the flesh*; that they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, that they may be *wholesome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ*; and that they will maintain and set forwards quietness, peace, and love, among all Christians, but, *especially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge*." And they most solemnly ratify and confirm these declarations and promise *by receiving the holy communion*.

Now, how are they to do these things, or, indeed, any part of these things, unless they *be at the places* where they have so solemnly promised to do them? How are they to promote God's glory and edify his people; how are they to instruct the people committed to their charge; how are they to explain the word to the people of their cure; how are they to be ready with faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word, and especially from amongst them that are committed to their charge; how are they to fulfil any of these solemn promises, if they absent themselves from the very spot where the people committed to their charge reside? And if, having already one living, they grasp at another or two, how do they obey the injunction of the apostle, to avoid filthy lucre; how do they obey Christ, who bids them freely *give*; how do they fulfil their own promise, made at the altar and with such awful solemnity, to *lay aside the study of the world*; and how do they show themselves followers of the apostle, who bids them, "be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, seeing that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble"?

Is it not notorious that of the eleven thousand livings in England and Wales, more than one half of them are without resident *incumbents*; and, if we include one half of the parishes that have been what is called *united*, we shall find, that two thirds of the parishes are without resident incumbents, a fourth part, perhaps, without any resident clergyman at all; and is it not equally notorious that there are thousands of parsons each of whom has more than one living; is it not also notorious that those who *do the work* of the church have hardly a bare sufficiency to eat and drink; is it not notorious that, while there are bishoprics worth from ten to forty thousand a year, one million and six hundred thousand pounds have, within the last thirty years, been voted *out of the taxes* on our malt, soap, candles, sugar, &c., "for the relief of the poor clergy of *this church*"; is it not notorious that many of the present beneficed clergy received military and naval half-pay for many years, and the income of their benefices at the same time; and is it not notorious that, in Ireland, the case is still more flagrant than it is here? How, then, do the parsons fulfil the promises made at their ordination? How do they obey the injunctions of the apostles: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The apostles tell the teachers to teach publicly, "from house to house; to show themselves in all things patterns of good works; to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity; to warn every man, to teach every man in wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Jesus Christ." The teachers of the Gospel are called ambassadors, stewards, shepherds, watchmen, guides, lights, examples. But how are they to be any of these, if they seldom or never see any of those whom they have pledged themselves to teach?

This settles the matter as to the church as it now stands; and then, the next question is, *Can it be restored to what it ought to be?* If it could be,

that is the thing that ought to be done, because, though people in great towns do not perceive it, it is a serious change to the country; a serious change to the four hundred and sixty-five parishes of Devonshire, for instance; to the six hundred and twenty-nine parishes of Lincoln, the seven hundred and thirty-one parishes of Norfolk, the four hundred and eleven parishes of Kent; a serious change to take away one *little gentleman* out of every one of these parishes. No harm to take away from the parishes the present miserable curates, perhaps; but a serious thing to order, by law, that there never shall be these little resident gentry again; and a serious thing even now to extinguish incumbents, resident as well as non-resident, for ever. Religion has nothing at all to do with this question: it is a question of property, and property only. My Lord ALTHORP has intimated that he is going to propose a commutation; that is to say, to make the tithes an affair of mere money. This scheme may be enacted; but acts of Parliament can be repealed, or altered, and when once this becomes a matter of mere money, it will be, and must be, viewed as a *tax*, and being viewed as a tax, that tax will be a thing to be repealed as much as the malt, or any other taxes. The *property* will be gone. It will not only have changed its character and its nature, but it will no longer be considered as property. Once dissevered from the land, it becomes a tax; and there can be no earthly reason produced, after this change in its nature, for the continuation of it. The dissenters will assert, and with reason, that it is a tax for purposes, the benefits of which they do not share. They already petition, expressly, for an exemption from *church-rates*, on the ground, that the churches are of no use to them, and that they build and repair their own churches. I believe that they will carry this point; and, if they do, what reason is there to be found for requiring them to pay that which will really and truly be a tax to support church parsons.

Then there is another difficulty; and, indeed, two or three more. What is to

be done with the *patrons* of the clerical benefices? If you compel the incumbents to reside, there must be something in the way of equalization of livings; and, in the case of innumerable impropriations, you must compel the impropriators *to allow a sufficiency for residence*. Then, what is to be done with the present incumbents? Are Lords GUILDFORD and WALSINGHAM, for instance, one of them to keep four livings and the other three, to the end of their lives; and is residence to be enforced in some parishes, and not in others? And, as to the *rate* of the commutation; if the propositions in the Devonshire petition are to be adopted, there will not, in many cases, be enough to support residence, without taking the whole of the tithe away from the impropriator; and can you deal in any way whatever with the parochial tithes, and leave the chapters and sees and colleges untouched? In short, it is revolution, look at it which way you will; and it is utterly impossible to look at the Devonshire proceedings without being convinced that this revolution has actually begun.

And, now, what do the nobility and clergy think of their conduct for forty years past? It is they who have been the makers of this revolution, and the sole makers of it. It would be curious to look back to the time when the late Duke of PORTLAND, the late Earl FITZWILLIAM, and the present Earl SPENCER, together with Mr. WYNDHAM, and some others of less consequence, having BURKE for trumpeter and mouth-piece, quitted their party; quitted the party of Fox, and joined the party of PITT, in favour of the war against the republicans of France. That will form a very interesting epoch in the History of the Reign of George the Third. Fox said, "Let the French alone; make a reasonable reform of the Parliament here; and leave the French to justify you in not going further, which, by their mad pranks, they will soon do." PITT was of this opinion; but, when the noblemen before-mentioned declared in favour of war, he was compelled to go to war, or quit his place. Having

determined on war, he exerted all his talents, and all his means of every sort, in support of it. With one hand the press was corrupted, or silenced by persecution; with the other hand the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and the person of every man put at the disposal of the Government; every man who spoke against the war was deemed a traitor in his heart, and treated accordingly. The noblemen and gentlemen who were for the war, said, in justification of their measures, that, if the revolution in France were suffered to succeed, there must be a similar revolution in England, including, of course, an abolition of the orders of nobility and a dethroning of the king. The French had abolished tithes, and stripped the clergy of their estates. There were no monasteries to pillage in England, that having been accomplished without the assistance of Jacobins, two hundred and fifty years before. But there were tithes to abolish; and, therefore, no description of men were so vehement against the French revolution as the clergy of England, who, all at once, discovered that the Popish religion was a thing, to put down which was most sacrilegious and impious. In short, the war was undertaken for the purpose of crushing the French revolution, and thereby preventing a reform of the Parliament and an abolition of tithes in England.

But, this revolution was not to be crushed without money; and that money was not to be had without the contracting of the debt; and that debt is not to be paid off; and the interest of it is not to be paid without the scenes which we now behold; and this debt is now doing all that any set of Jacobins could have done, if five hundred thousand of them had come over from France for the purpose and assisted the Jacobins of England. The affair of the tithes I look upon as settled; and, though the orders of the nobility and the throne may, and I trust will, remain, the estates of the nobles will be all taken away by this debt, unless it be speedily and largely reduced; and of this I know no man sanguine enough to say that he has any expectation whatever.

Thus, then, the battle of WATERLOO, battle of TRAFALGAR, battle of SALAMANCA, battle of the NILE, and all the battles and all the "glories," will, at last, have done nothing but help in producing a revolution a great deal worse for the projectors of the war, than that revolution would have been, which would have taken place without the war. Even now the same error is, it seems, to be repeated: the pensions, the sinecures, the grants, the dead-weight, all are to be adhered to, till they can be adhered to no longer; and then away they all go with other things, not now in contemplation by the people, along with them. In conclusion, let the clergy remember this: that, were it not for the debt, and the army required by the debt, and the pressure arising from the taxes necessary to support these, that man would have been deemed a madman, who should have put forth propositions like those contained in the Devonshire petition.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. SHEIL.

It is useless to say much upon this subject. A committee was appointed by the House of Commons, to inquire into the truth or falsehood of the statement made by Mr. HILL, at HULL, which was, in consequence of questions asked of Lord ALTHORP in the House, made to apply to Mr. SHEIL. The committee determined, and so reported to the House, *that the charge was totally destitute of foundation.* Lord ALTHORP, who had said on a former occasion that the report of such language used by Mr. SHEIL had reached him, and that he believed it to be true, stated to the House, that he now believed that those from whom he had received the information had been *mistaken*, or in *error*. Mr. HILL went before the committee, and stated, that what he had said at HULL, he had said in an *unguarded moment*; and that he was now convinced that the information which he had received was not correct. Lord

ALTHORP apologized to Mr. SHEIL for having been led to believe of him that which now appeared not to have been true. Thus Mr. SHEIL stands fully and completely acquitted of every particle of the charge, and the whole body of the Irish members participate in that acquittal. Every one must perceive, and did perceive, that the charge acquired a tremendous addition of weight from the circumstance of its being sent forth under the belief expressed by Lord ALTHORP; because nobody would believe that he did not say what he thought; neither would any body believe, that he would have so decidedly expressed his belief in the facts, unless he had had good grounds for that belief. He said, repeatedly, that he had the firmest reliance on the word of his *informant*; and people naturally placed great reliance on his judgment with regard to that informant. But, alas! he was compelled to confess that that informant had been *mistaken*, or in *error*. And *who was this informant?* The words "*mistaken*," or in "*error*," are *soft words*, but they have a hard meaning, which common people express by a much *shorter word*. Who, then, was this informant? There were two, it seems; but his lordship very candidly said, that Mr. Wood was one! that is to say, "Wood, emphatically called JOHN," who kept me out of the seat for PRESTON in 1826; whose character I so truly described, and whose destiny, thus far, I so distinctly foretold at that time, on the hustings, and in the face of the people. "Where," says some poet, "is the place so sacred, into which reptiles sometimes creep not?" Amongst the things the most mortifying that we behold is, that the ears of men like Lord ALTHORP should be accessible to what is said by men like "Wood, emphatically call JOHN." See the troubles and dangers that arise from such accessibility. Lord ALTHORP, every one believes, most firmly believed what he said; most firmly believed that Mr. SHEIL was guilty; and he was drawn into a situation to be compelled to declare his belief, or to act a dastardly part. This

latter he would not do; and therefore he declared his belief, and kept "WOOD, called JOHN," out of sight, at the peril of his own life. The last time that I had to mention this matter, I expressed my hope that he would see reasons to confess that he had been led to entertain an erroneous belief. He did see reason to make that acknowledgment. He made the acknowledgment; and all that he has to do in future is, to know his man well before he believes him.

I INTENDED to give an analysis of the Navy Estimates; but I shall do it another time.

POOR-LAWS.

Dunfermline, 9. Feb. 1834.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND,—You have earned this title, the highest and most honourable, by your potent and persevering exertions in behalf of the labouring and suffering poor. Your *Register* of the 25. of last month, afforded me much pleasure, as it gave evidence of the continuance, almost increase, of your most extraordinary powers of mind and vigour of intellect; and I especially rejoice in the application of that and others your peculiar gifts, to the conservation of THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR. You pen up your opponent into a corner, and then completely floor him. I am only sorry that it should have been necessary for you to inflict such a chastisement on the person of a friend.

When in conversation with you, I expressed my fears for Mr. Hume, on account of his flirtings with the feelosofers and national-faith men, you answered, "Oh! no fear of Joseph: Joseph is a *canny Scotch body*; Joseph will come in." I would still hope your prediction may be verified; but, I am exceedingly jealous of every one who would aid or abet the present Ministers, in their apparent designs against the poor of England. Joseph has "seen the head of a bill." Ah! Joseph, Joseph!

"Satan hath deceived thee, that he may sift thee as wheat": we will "pray for thee, and still hope thou wilt come in"; but if our hopes are disappointed, the loss may be partly ours; the blame, assuredly, will be wholly thine!

I may just notice in passing, a "white finger" in Tait's Magazine, a friend of Mr. Hume, and, who is or would be in the secret; this wise man of Gotham "vehemently doubts," yes, "*vehemently doubts*"; a pretty phrase for a *learned* and *literary* M.P.; vehemently doubts whether the Ministers will have courage to carry into effect the plans of the Poor-Law Commissioners. Well, I am glad that Mr. J. A. R. vehemently doubts upon this subject,

One great cause of the errors of the *doctrinaires*, is, their idleness, and inexperience of hardships in life. They know not, as you and I do, what it is to work, and to want. Of you, the labouring poor can say truly, "We have not an high priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities; but one who was in all points tempted like as we are." You, sir, "wisely consider the case of the poor man," because you know experimentally and feel sympathetically *what it is*. There is also, with you, your worthy colleague, Fielden; and, another of "the order of factory boys"; (will you give us his name, that it may be enrolled among the names of our household gods?): it is with such men Mr. Hume should take counsel, on subjects of this kind. Mere book-readers, book-makers, speculators, and theorists, know little of the real condition and sentiments of the working and suffering poor.

It was for this reason I petitioned the House of Commons last session, that "the Irish commissioners might be instructed to eat and drink and lodge and work with the labouring poor of Ireland; and that Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., and Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., might be of the commission." Had the prayer been granted, we might have expected a report, rational and humane. Had I O'Connell and Hume for *shopmates*, and better ones I could

not wish, by St. Crispin ! their conversion would be a short and an easy process ; nay, had I even the great Schoolmaster Brougham himself, for an apprentice, wig doffed, coat off, apron on, and awl in hand, fairly sitting down on the stool on my left, *I'm blowed if I woud'nt* soon "clear his head o' doited lear" ; and teach him to work and to think, and think rightly, at one and the same time. I know, experimentally, that the one exercise facilitates the other, the physical action of the muscles dissipates the peccant humours of the body, which latter are the causes of *feelosofic deliria, Malthusian hypochondria*, and moral insensibility in idle men ; in all, less or more, who do not work, or have never worked with their hands, for their daily bread.

"Tis in the *distance* the enchantment lies" : so, the feelosofers look forward to the Malthusian Millennium ; nations of cold-hearted bachelors, and "frosty maids forsworn the dear embrace" ; loss of early, of conjugal, and parental love, and filial piety ; when the unphilosophical sentiment of pity shall be extinct ; when the moral code shall be regenerated ; our Bible shall read, "Keep what you have ; and give 'not' to the poor" : and, the anticipation of the final sentence will run, "Come, ye blessed, for I was hungry, and ye gave me 'no' meat." "Depart, ye cursed, for I was an-hungered, and he fed me ——" Blessed time of gin-house production without limit ; and miserly accumulation without end ! Glorious consummation of feelosofy ! for this, let us starve and exterminate the present race of "paupers" ; for this, "limit the numbers" of effective labourers ; for this, ye "peasantry" and "populace," be content to sleep in *bothies* and live on *brose* ; eat potatoes with gladness, and drink water with a merry heart : this is "the transition state" ; and, a thousand years or two after ye are dead, all will be well, and according to "the rule of right" ! But, if ye are allowed to feed and breed, there will take place, thus sayeth the great prophet Malthus, "*miser sapientia*," in the year of our Lord three thousand eight hundred and

thirty-four, on the ninth day of February, at precisely twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, noon "Lord pre-serve us ! What's to happen ? Is the earth to open and swallow us up ? Are the clouds to rain fire and *brimstone* ? "Or, is the last judgment to begin ?" No, fool ! worse than any or all such trifling accidents, *the whole earth will then be cursed with REDUNDANT POPULATION !* "Eh ! what's that ?" says clodhopper, and, without waiting for an answer, takes hold of the plough stilt, "gee up, Jolly," and he drives on.

The enchantment lies in distance of place as well as of time : and thus Mr. Hume points from London to the poor of Scotland ; these, he would say or insinuate, are of an *elevated* character, as compared with the "degraded poor of England. Well, to a simple unsophisticated mind, it must appear, at least, strange, and very paradoxical, that a legal, certain, and adequate provision for the poor of England should, in any sense of the word, "degrade" them ; and that, leaving a great part of the poor of Scotland to beg, steal, starve, and die, should tend to elevate the character of the latter : but, "facts are chieft that wanna ding an' downa, be disputed," this parish has been, for twenty years past, without any legal provision for the poor ; and, I will show Mr. Hume how the poor have been "degraded," and the rich, revered, and godly *brutified*, in consequence. I shall wait, however, till next month for the annual report, which I hope will be the last one, from "The Voluntary Association for supporting (robbing, starving) the poor." It may be enough, in the mean time, to say that, at a public meeting of this association, the Rev. George Bell Brand, treasurer, declared that "if the poor were to get more than their present allowances, they would only waste it" ! Now, the average allowance does not exceed, at the utmost, *a penny a day for each* ! Here, then, indeed, is a "degraded pauper population," without poor-laws. Will Hume, O'Connell, Brougham, or his commissioners, say,

that the English is more so? that is, if the Reverend spoke truth. If his charge against the poor was false, it verifies my assertion, that the rich, reverend, and godly are brutified, inasmuch as the libeller was not reprimanded and dismissed from his salaried office; it will also prove that the virtuous poor are "degraded" under his superintendence and management. It is now reported, that our heritors are about to imitate the Nimrods of Dumbar, by refusing to contribute any thing to the relief of the burgh poor. Should this be the case, I will, Mr. Cobbett, petition you for the appointment of "reckoning commissioner" for the parish of Dunfermline; and, if honoured by your approval, will exert myself to the utmost to find the quantity of abbey lands, their present rents, the means by which they were wrested from the Catholic church and the poor, together with the names of the original robbers, and of their heirs and assignees, the present possessors.

As to the labouring "peasantry" of Scotland, you saw their elevated condition in *Urquhart Bothie*, and their sumptuous fare, *brose! brose! brose!* three times a day, and all the year round, BROSE!!! When the fact was first mentioned, you exclaimed, "My countrymen, the chopsticks! rather than submit to such treatment, they would burn, not the stacks only, but the *earth itself*!" And this gives me an idea of less "degradation" on the part of the chopsticks of your country, although they may not so glibly "screed aff effect'al callin"; or chant, or mumble, "What though I be poor and mean, I'll engage the rich to love me," as the clodhoppers of mine: and, I partly account for the superiority of sentiment in the English labourers, from the circumstance of their having the administration of the poor-laws continually before them; whereby they feel themselves part proprietors of the soil on which they were born, while the Scotch are taught by the *heddekashunist* to look for relief in distress, only to "*charity*"; and, the eternal cant and *blether* of the *hekkonomist* is, "the labourers must be

"resources; and, should they marry and breed, "they must be left to the punishment of nature." The Scotch labourer is, indeed, a *helot*; and all the vices of the slave are his; from all I have seen and learned, my conviction is, that there is scarcely a race on earth more "degraded" than that very "peasantry" to which Mr. Hume refers; and, till very lately, the operatives, mechanics, and tradesmen, were not much superior.

As to the *Irish*, whom O'Connell describes as dying in thousands from famine and pestilence, it is difficult to conceive any thing that can "degrade" them below "the lowest depth"; certainly, to keep or take back part of the land-rents from the Saxon, or absentee landlord, and give it to the starving labourer, would not do so; unless Mr. O'Connell means that the Irish, like some of the African slaves on the passage, should die "sulky": they have before been eulogized for "dying peaceably."

I must stop for the present; but shall be happy to acquaint you in another letter, with facts illustrative of the voluntary plan of relief and its workings under favourable circumstances, in Dunfermline. It is from such men as I am, that gentlemen such as Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell can be taught to think rightly on such subjects. "We have more understanding than all our teachers"; because we immediately and directly feel the consequences of good or bad legislation in our own persons, and witness them on our near relatives and neighbours. Mr. Hume ought to know enough of the "white fingers" to make him wary of their counsels; and, for our legislators generally, it may be said of them, "They are not in trouble as other men, neither are they plagued like other men; their eyes stand out with fatness; they have more than heart could wish; therefore they are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression; they speak loftily!" and the character of the legislature will not be materially improved as long as government is based on the principle of ex-

cluding the working people from the constituency and representation.

Dear sir, take care of your health ; beware of late and long sittings ; never were your life and health so valuable as at present.

I am,
Poor Man's Friend,
your obedient servant,
and ardent admirer,
THOS. MORRISON. sen.

SEEDS.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY, of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed ; and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows :—

For a single pound	1s. 6d.
For ten pounds	12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds	22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards, 1s. per pound.	

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound ; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound ; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound ; above 100lbs. 6d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom ; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense ; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away* ; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country ; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound ; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound ; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound ; any quantity above 100lbs. 6d. a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one ; the latter will contain half the

quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s. ; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d. ; always *ready money*. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of *true* seeds in any *one* garden ; and, if he *could do it*, the doing of it would cost him *six times the sum* that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases *ten bags*, will pay the price of *eight*, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of *fifteen* ; and if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, a *card*, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing : “ GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM.” And my constituents will remember, that *La charrue, l'épée et la plume ne dérogent pas*.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in corning that I ever saw in my life ; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| No. | |
| 1. | Asparagus. |
| 2. | Bean—Broad, or Windsor. |
| 3. | Long Pod. |
| 4. | Early Masagan, |
| 5. | Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners. |
| 6. | White Runners. |
| 7. | Bean—Black Dwarf. |
| 8. | Dun Dwarf. |
| 9. | Robin-Egg. |
| 10. | Speckled. |
| 11. | Beet—Red. |
| 12. | Brocoli—White. |
| 13. | Purple. |
| 14. | Cape. |
| 15. | Cabbage—Early Battersea. |
| 16. | Early York. |
| 17. | Savoy. |
| 18. | Cale—Curled—Scotch. |
| 19. | Carrot. |
| 20. | Cauliflower. |

21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

TITHES.

COUNTY MEETING.

(From the *Western Times*.)

Exeter, 10. Jan., 1834.

THE interest excited by this meeting has not been surpassed by any county meeting which has taken place for a long time. Nothing since the great agitation which finally shook the Tories

from their long abiding place at the head of the country, can be compared with it in interest and excitement. Many of the yeomen, notwithstanding the ungenial state of the weather, arrived in the city on Thursday afternoon, determined to take a part in the momentous proceedings. The South Hams, ever on the alert, led the van, and as we were informed by several gentlemen of that district, the excitement that prevailed there, appeared as if the Tories had suddenly and unexpectedly risen, and come to life again, and the South Hammer had been as suddenly called upon once more to knock them on the head. The northern districts, though less animated in expression, felt the importance of the meeting not the less deeply, if we may judge by the appearance of the gallant fellows on the distant hills. The far west too, had acknowledged the talismanic sound of Tithes! and the moorman from the wilds of Dartmoor, and the yeoman from its neighbouring vales, joined the sturdy assemblage to do battle in the good cause.

If the South Hams were peculiarly excited, it was not without peculiar cause, for the landowners of that district had felt it to be their duty to take a very prominent part in promoting the meeting; foremost among these was H. STUNDY, Esq., of Watton Court; this gentleman, whose patriotism is so prominent, caused an excellent address to be circulated through his own neighbourhood; he attended the meetings and assemblages of the farmers, and addressed them on the importance of stirring heart and hand; he has seized every opportunity of mingling with them; wherever two or three were gathered together, there was he in the midst, pointing out the grievances and oppressions of the system, its anti-christian tendency, and the necessity of combating it at once manfully and vigorously. The attendance of South Hammers showed that his labour was not in vain.

To the Owners and Occupiers of Land, and other Tithe Payers, in Devon.

Gentlemen,—The High Sheriff, (John Quicke, Esq., of Newton-house), having promptly complied with the requisition of

2,160 of us, who desired him to convene a county meeting, "To consider the propriety of petitioning the legislature on the subject of the tithe laws and their effects"; and the Sheriff having done us the honour of promptly ordering such meeting to be held at the Castle of Exeter, on Friday next the 10. instant, by 12 o'clock, I take this method of informing you thereof, and hope that every one of you will appear there to give his voice and hear the result of the meeting on the present tyrannical way in which you have for a series of years been deprived of your property.

Should any of you feel infirm from age or otherwise, and not able to attend, send a son, if you have any, or some other young friend, as your representative, who may hand down to posterity, what their ancestors did to rescue them from the degradation which by the present tithe laws is now exercised over them, and which the present reforming Parliament are determined to have commuted.

H. STUDDY, A LANDOWNER.

Watton-court, January 6, 1834.

In reference to this subject, a friend states, that about forty or fifty years since, there were tithe meetings in this county, to sign petitions for a commutation, for the then county members to carry into Parliament; and Thomas Bradridge, Esq., of Staverton, was the chairman for nearly twenty years. The notices of these meetings are to be found in the *Sherborne Mercury* and *Trewman's Papers*.

At that time there were agricultural meetings held at Totnes, Kingsbridge, Modbury, and Ivy Bridge, when it was resolved to call a meeting of the county at Exeter, to petition Parliament, but Devon not being supported by other counties, the object was partially abandoned, till its comparatively recent revival. The meetings were therefore dropped till the reformed Parliament gave the people new hopes, and the subject has now become thoroughly grafted in the public mind.

Shortly before twelve, the yeomen began to assemble in the yard, and by the time the meeting commenced, we should estimate the numbers present at upwards of 3,000, and which, at one time, increased to about 4,000, though the heavy showers that fell dispersed a portion, and left none behind but the all-weather opponents of the system, who stood their ground like men

throughout, numbering amongst their body 3,000 as stanch and determined yeomen as ever assembled within the castle walls. When the High Sheriff made his appearance, we observed on the hustings Lord Ebrington, the Hon. Newton Fellowes, Mr. J. C. Bulteel, M. P., Mr. Parrott, M. P., Col. Seale, M. P., Sir H. P. Davie, Bart., C. P. Hamlyn, Esq., J. Chichester, Esq., Capt. Buller, Rev. Jonas Dennis, Arthur Chichester, Esq., Geo. Carey, Esq., H. Studdy, Esq., Edward Divett, Esq., M. P., &c., &c.

The arrangements for the accommodation of the press were of the worst possible description, no blame, however, is attributable to the respected Under Sheriff, as Mr. Ford had left it to a gentleman of the liberal party, who, from some cause or other, failed in being able to accomplish so much as we are well assured he would have done, if he had been able.

The HIGH SHERIFF having taken his station, proceeded to open the meeting, which he did by reading the requisition, and stating his compliance with it. The requisition was signed by 2,160. He then stated that he had received a letter from one of the county members, stating his inability to attend the meeting. The hon. Gent. then read the letter, which proved to be from Lord John Russell. It was dated from Woburn Abbey, 5. Jan. 1834. It stated that the noble writer having been informed by Mr. Hamlyn of the requisition to the Sheriff, and the answer of the latter thereto, fixing the meeting for this day, he wished the Sheriff to make known his reasons for not attending the meeting. He begged to assure them that it did not arise from any want of respect to the numerous body of his constituents, who had signed the requisition, nor any indifference to the great objects they had in view; but as he must be engaged in the cabinet, in the discussion of measures of the greatest importance, and as he could not address the meeting without involving his colleagues in the opinions he might express, he deemed it his duty to abstain from attending, &c. This reason appeared to be satis-

factory. As soon as the letter had been read,

C. P. HAMLYN, Esq. stood forward, and was greeted with three loud and long-continued cheers, which were called for by Mr. R. Watson of Dorsley. Mr. Hamlyn proceeded to speak as follows: Mr. High Sheriff and Gentlemen, before I enter on the business of the meeting, I feel I should not do my duty to the yeomanry, if I did not take the first opportunity of returning thanks to the Sheriff for the promptitude with which he has replied to your requisition. (Bravo). I wish some abler advocate had appeared on the present occasion. (No, no). At all times unequal to the task which I have now undertaken, I have that habitual deficiency increased by an attack of illness under which I have been labouring for the last seven weeks. Nevertheless, what remaining energy I can command, is perfectly at your service (cheers), as long as I can go on at all, I will do my best to follow up this great question to its final settlement. (Cheers). Four years have now elapsed since I last had the honour of addressing you on this question, which we are now met to discuss; there is one point in which I congratulate you: I congratulate you on the change which has taken place (cheers); we may now ask for a commutation, without being told it is impracticable. (Hear, hear). We are not now to be told that it is impracticable or unjust; for we have it from the highest authority, from the bishops themselves, that a change in the tithe laws is absolutely necessary (cheers)—that is one point gained. Gentlemen, we have heard in different quarters that this is the fact. We cannot wonder at the extent of names that has accompanied this requisition, inasmuch as it must be natural to the feelings of the men whom I see around me, manfully to express their sentiments on all topics which interest them, more particularly on this one, the evils of which they have so long felt and laboured under. It is not to be wondered that they should meet to express their opinions on this subject, more especially from the nature of the bill which was brought forward last session. (Cheers).

It is not my intention to take up your time by going into the origin of the tithe laws; we have been told that all those who contend that there was an equal division of tithes have been ignorant men, or men who wish to deceive. Now as I do not think such men as Blackstone and many others of that description, are entitled to this epithet, I still continue to think that the tithe was so divided, and what is more, that at one time the people had a right to pay this tithe to whatever clergyman they thought proper. (A voice, Where is that?). One thing is very clear, that tithe is a very great grievance in its present shape. It is inimical to the best interests of the country. (Cheers). We have been told so by the best authorities in the land, perhaps. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I will not enter into the question, to take up too much of your time, but tithes from the change of circumstances, have completely changed, and they have now risen to a point that never could have been contemplated, for how could it be contemplated, to take the tithes of things that were not known to be in existence? (Hear, hear). Every tax laid on, tells in favour of the tithe-owner, for the greater the expense of the production, the greater is his profit; (hear, hear); it is equally against the consumer and the cultivator, but I will not enter into the subject, I know that it is so bad, that you have all come here to petition against the grievance, we have come here to petition against the injustice we come here to propose a fair commutation, to get rid of that injustice, and that oppression; that tithes are unjust in their operation, there can be no doubt, to take a tenth of the capital, to take a tenth of the labour, to take a tenth of every thing, is in itself, most unjust; and, let me ask any honourable man, how it can be reconciled to common justice, that when a crop has failed, and the farmer is out of pocket, in steps the tithe-holder, and takes a tithe of his loss; when the ship is wrecked, in steps the tithe-holder, and takes a tenth of the little that is saved. (Down with the system). Gentlemen, the tithes are designated by all

authors, as a tenth of the increase upon land or capital, now in the name of common sense, in the name of common honesty, I will ask how it can possibly be just, that the tenth should be taken in seasons and upon occasions when there is no increase? and when the farmer has lost half his crop, and lost the larger portion of his capital, still the tithe-owner goes in and takes his portion. (It's too true). They are described as the produce of the land; now let us see the justice of that. It was but the other day I was looking into the report of the Commissioners of Poor-laws, and saw that 4,000*l.* a year was laid out in bone ashes, to raise turnips in a certain parish. Were the turnips the produce of the soil? they were the produce of the bone ashes, and would any man say it was justice that the parson should take the tithe of the produce of this capital? (Cheers). But what does one of our greatest men say? (Locke) he tells us that the land can only be considered the most worthless part of the material, it is the skill, and capital, and labour that come to it, that make every thing; but I need not explain this to you, every man who is here, feels the pressure of it. I need not explain to you why it is that we stand here; I make no apology for the manner in which I express myself; I declare solemnly in the face of heaven, that my only wish is to get rid of a vexatious imposition, and substitute a fair payment in place of it. (Bravo). I have no feeling against any set of men; I regard, though God knows that some may think differently from me at this moment, the clergy, as a body; I tell them on my conscience and soul, I am one of their best friends (a laugh), though they do not think so, perhaps. Do you not know that the best friend of a child, sometimes is the one that gives it physic? (Physic them well). I believe that if these imposts were removed, that the clergy would be relieved, they would be in reality what I believe they ought to be, the best friends and associates of those among whom they live; but while continual disputes are arising, and must arise, by taking on one hand what is considered unjust, and the opposite

party never thinking that they can have enough, no good understanding can exist. (Cheers). I know that I am liable, in the commutation which I propose, to be told by those who think differently from me, that the tithes have been fixed by act of Parliament, that they were patronized by that humble, excellent, moderate and religious prince, Henry VIII. (A laugh). I do not wish to go into their history, they have had a bad beginning, a bad continuation, and still make a bad end; they originated with one monarch, who murdered his brother, and were cemented by another who murdered his wives. The hon. Gent. having glanced at the subject of the law, proceeded to notice the state of agriculture in the earliest periods of history, and the effect which tithes had had in retarding and taxing its improvement. The poorer the land was the greater the expense of its cultivation—the greater the expense the manure and tillage. So this vexatious system became more vexatious, in proportion to the poverty of the soil, and the uncertainty of the return (cheers), consequently the farmer who farms on poor land, has more to pay to the tithe-owner, than the man who farms on rich. Gentlemen, I may be told that any alteration is an injustice, but I reply, that the alterations which time and improved culture have made in favour of the tithe-owner, are a great injustice. See how labour is taxed, and see how lime is taxed—they do not take tithe on lime—they do not take tithe on labour; but every bushel of lime which comes out of the earth again in a state of produce, is made to pay its tithe. (Cheers). But it not only pays its tithe in production, but it is taxed also beforehand. Most of our lime comes from Berry Head; and I thing you will find that it is taxed, before it comes into the hand of the cultivator, through the taxes that are levied on the vessel. I shall not take up your time any longer—but I shall conclude by moving that the petition be read, except, by saying my object has been a fair and honest commutation, giving the tithe-owners an equivalent for all they ought to have; and when we

compare the present with the past, we shall find that two shillings in the pound now are more than six shillings were twenty years ago. (Hear, hear). I may be told that the object I have is a selfish one; but I tell you I am neither a tithe-owner nor a tithe-payer; there is not one of my tenants who has any dispute about tithes; the estate I farm myself is tithe free; some will say, you do it to put money into your own pocket. I am ready to meet that charge or any other that may be brought against me, (Cheers). The honourable Gentleman concluded by moving the adoption of the petition.

The following petition was then read.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Owners and Occupiers of Land, and other Payers of Tithes, in the county of Devon, agreed on at a county meeting, held at Exeter, the tenth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four,

Showeth,

That your petitioners presume to address your honourable House, in consequence of their understanding it to be the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to introduce a bill in the ensuing session, for effecting certain changes in the tithe laws.

That your petitioners complain, that the demand of one tenth part of the gross produce of the land, by those who contribute nothing towards its production, is at variance with the dictates of reason, and the principles of justice, and most oppressively grievous in cases that frequently occur, when the value of the whole crop will not bear the expense of raising it.

We, therefore, earnestly pray your honourable House, that the subject of tithes may be taken into your serious consideration, and that tithes may be permanently commuted, on the basis of supposing the tithe-owner the tenth joint proprietor of the soil. But anxiously as your petitioners desire a change in the existing tithe laws, oppressive and unjust as they consider them, they would nevertheless prefer their continuance to the enactment of any other measure that would have the effect of exempting the holders of tithe property from bearing their just portion of all parochial and other assessments, thereby severing their interests from those of the rest of the community.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Sir HUMPHREY DAVIE, Bart., now stood forward to second the petition,

and was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering. We were unable to catch much that fell from the honourable baronet, on account of the confusion which was caused by a very heavy shower of rain falling at the time. He contended, with great warmth, that a change was absolutely necessary; for that the grievance had arrived at such a pitch that it was no longer tolerable, and it would be impossible much longer to collect the tithes. He then adverted to the bill which had been brought in last session. There was a commutation, he said, proposed then; but it was found, in the common saying, "that there was a screw loose"; the commutation had been proposed in the wrong quarter, and was accompanied by the wrong measures; the people had determined to take the subject up for themselves, and to propose such a commutation as would be fair and equitable to all parties. Such he believed the proposition of the petition to be. Two shillings in the pound, he repeated, were a just equivalent for all that the clergy were entitled to. He believed the present Government to be well inclined to the settlement of this question in a fair and equitable manner; and under their care and attention he trusted the grievance would be removed. There had been a reform in the House of Parliament, and he trusted that no impediment would again retard the Ministry in its settlement. Public opinion was seldom wrong; and public opinion was fully made up against this grievance, and public opinion would soon gain the victory. The end of every corruption and abuse was approaching, and this could not long remain. The spirit which had emancipated millions of our fellow-beings from the galling chains of slavery would get rid of every other obstacle to the improvement of mankind. He felt indebted to the Ministry for what they had done already, and looked with much confidence to the future. He felt assured that public opinion would, in the end, be victorious, and that it would not be long before this question was decided in favour of the tithe-payer. (Continued cheers). The honourable baronet con-

cluded by paying a well-merited eulogium on the great services rendered by Mr. Hamlyn in this cause. He reminded them of the watchword of that honourable gentleman—PERSEVERE: he advised them still to persevere to the end. He then seconded the petition, the freeholders giving three hearty cheers for the honourable baronet, as he retired from the front of the hustings.

On the High Sheriff putting the petition,

H. STUDDY, Esq., stood forward, and was received with the warmest acclamations. He said, having been long a practical agriculturist, I appear here to-day for the purpose of supporting the petition (Put on your hat), in order that I may do my part in getting rid of that tyrannical practice which has hitherto been exercised over us, in the spoliation of our property, by taking away the tenth of our capital and of our industry. It has been held out to you, that if the landlords succeeded with this commutation, the whole of the difference will go into their pockets; that I deny (hear, hear), most positively deny. (Cheers). I have been a practical agriculturist for thirty years, for the purpose of improving my land, and I have experienced the robbery and spoliation of the system, in the taking away of the tenth of the crops which have been produced by the care and industry of myself and tenants. That never was the intention of the tithe laws; be they established eight hundred years ago, or when they might, their object was to maintain the clergy, and also the fabric of the church, and also the poor. (Hear, hear). The poor have been thrown upon the land; the church has been supported by a separate tax; and the clergy have appropriated the whole tenth. These were the abuses that had crept in. Money payments were now made for that that was originally established before money was known. (Hear, hear). I trust the abuse will not last much longer (hear); every country in the civilized world has got rid of it, but England submits to it still; I hope, however, that we shall not much longer submit to this system.

(Cheers). It has been the case elsewhere, but I hope it never will be the case here, that whenever a commotion has taken place, the tithe has been the first property to go. (Hear, hear). I was brought up in the early part of my life in revolution: I spent three years in the American war, and have seen many persons who supported this doctrine of tithes, falling before public opinion, and compelled to retire to England, and live as pensioners on the British nation. Mr. Studdy then went into a feeling picture of his own situation as a tithe-payer, every thing was taken in kind from him. This was in the parish of Stoke Gabriel, a peculiar parish, for they had lost their vicarage-house; and though they paid four or five hundred a year for the parson, all the benefit they had from him was when he came over once a week to preach to them; but one of the greatest grievances was this, that the man who took his tithe was a middleman, a class that had proved the greatest curse of Ireland, living in Exeter, who had the lease of the great tithes, whilst the vicar, who had the small tithes, was compelled to make the most of it, and they were ground in every way. The hon. Gentleman was understood to say, that he had taken every pains to come to a just composition, but could not succeed; and because he would not give way, he had now to pay every thing in kind, and even the tenth egg was taken away from him. (Hear, hear). He condemned the bill of the last session, because it was not final; for, under that, at the end of twenty-one years, the payer would be liable to a new valuation, which would then be a direct tax upon the cultivation and improvement. He repeated, that he came there with an honest spirit, willing to pay the utmost farthing that could be honestly demanded of him, but he could not but resist the grinding attempts and unjust exaction to which he was obliged to submit; and, above all, the insulting manner in which the act was performed. He fully supported the prayer of the petition. (Continued cheering).

JASPER PARROTT, Esq., M. P. (was greeted with loud cheering).—Gentlemen, as a member of the legislature, it would have been perhaps more becoming in me to have contented myself with supporting the prayer of this petition in my place in the House of Commons. (Cheers). Yet I cannot refrain from saying a few words now, and giving my hearty support to this petition. (Continued cheering). Gentlemen, we are not come here for the purpose of imputing improper or dishonourable views and feelings to those persons who, whether lay or clerical, happen to be in the possession of tithes. (Hear, hear). We come not to oppose them, but to meet them with fair argument; and if the argument is on our side, I trust that we shall carry this petition in the most triumphant manner. (Hear, hear, and cheers). Gentlemen, I have had some intimation that there is to be an amendment moved on the present occasion (no, no); but, gentlemen, remember this, that if there is an amendment proposed, what will be the professed object of it? Why, to favour the tithe-receiver, and not the tithe-payer. (Great cheering). Not only the interests of the whole body of the proprietors and occupiers of land (hear, hear) are concerned, but of all the consumers of the produce of the land, and the whole agricultural population. (Hear, hear). It behoves us, therefore, when we are about to appeal to the legislature, praying for new and better legislation on the subject, to consider well what alterations we may suggest, with a view to remove defects, and to introduce improvements. (Cheers). “Of all institutions (says Dr. Paley) adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of tithes.” A claimant here enters into the produce, who contributed no assistance whatever to the production; when years, perhaps, of care and toil have matured the improvement; when the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and industry—the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain, he finds himself compelled to divide the harvest with a stranger. Tithes are a tax not only upon industry, but upon that industry which feeds mankind; upon that species of exertion, which it is the object of all wise laws to cherish and promote. (Cheers). Dr. Paley has so well described in substance the grievances complained of in the tithe-system, that I will refrain from enlarging on it, except to give a few instances of the working of the system. A farmer sows a field of wheat, and before the grain is brought to market, it costs 8*l.* an acre; produce of the field twenty bushels an acre (which is the average of the county) two bushels being subtracted for tithes, leaves eighteen bushels to the farmer, worth, say 7*s.* per bushel, 6*l.* 6*s.*; loss to the farmer, 1*l.* 14*s.* per acre; gain to the tithe-receiver for the two bushels for tithe, 14*s.* A meadow, not worth 1*l.* an acre, is drained at an expense of 30*l.* or 40*l.* an acre, immediately tithe may be claimed for the improvement from the outlay

of capital. A ram or bull is bought, at an expense of a hundred guineas; the produce is subject to tithe, as though the ram or bull cost 5*l.* only; and yet we are to be told that the occupier of lands is not interested in this question. I might mention fifty other instances, in which tithes act as oppressively and injuriously as those I have mentioned; but I have given a few specimens, to show that it oppresses the landlord, in making permanent improvements, and the tenant, in applying capital to the stocking and cultivating his land. But there is one class of persons to whom it is more injurious than to all the others, viz., the consumer. The farmer, being a capitalist, must, in the course of his business, not only replace his stock, but must as any other trader, have the ordinary rate of profit on the capital he lays out, otherwise he would cease to cultivate, as the trader would cease to trade. For instance, if he lays out 1,000*l.* in the production of goods, and before he carries them to market, 100*l.* (the tenth) worth are taken from him by the tithe-proctor, he must make enough of the remainder to replace the 100*l.* with the ordinary rate of profit; consequently he must raise the price of his goods for that purpose. This is the way in which the consumer is affected, I believe, to a very considerable extent. It will therefore be seen, that proprietors and occupiers of land, and all the consumers of the produce of land, are greatly interested in effecting, at least, a great modification of the present system; and if they make common cause, which I hope they will, I have no doubt but what they will succeed. (Great cheering). But, say those who wish to continue this unfair impost, we admit the system is bad, and it ought to be altered; we will transfer it from the occupier to the owner of lands; tithes shall not be taken in kind, but the owner shall be charged with an equivalent in money for it. There is justice for you! take this tax from one class, and place it on another; what horrid injustice; take that which was a tax on the stock of one, and place it on the freehold property of another. May the Ministers who attempt such an interference with property, meet with that condign punishment which they will richly deserve. But who are the occupiers of land? Are they all tenants? Why nearly all the land in this county, is in the hands of men who are both proprietors and occupiers; who chiefly form that magnificent body of yeomanry, who, by throwing their weight into the scale, have contributed so much to place the present county members in their situation of representatives of one of the greatest counties in the empire. (Continued cheering). A voice—They won't go again). Will these representatives, then, attempt to fix on them an equivalent for the tenth of the gross produce of the land? I hope they will speak out, and say aye or no, that the electors, may know how to estimate their services. But, say the sticklers for tithes, whatever benefit is done to the tenant,

will be given to the landlord. What a fallacy. If the tithe system were modified, the landlord and tenant would be both benefited by the profit on a greater outlay of capital; one in permanent, and the other in temporary improvements. Cultivation would be extended, and more produce brought to market, which, of course, would lead to a reduction in price, proportioned to the tithe tax removed. The consumer, however, is the person who would reap the principal advantage from this. The poor, who have now no employment, would then be engaged in husbandry, and thousands and tens of thousands who are now pining in misery and want would be probably employed. But the petition is for fixing the maximum of the equivalent for tithes, at the tenth part of the clear annual value of the land—while the decisions in the courts have upheld the tithe receiver in a tenth of the gross produce of the land. But this was in darker ages than the present, when boroughcraft and priestcraft bore sway, and when the decisions of courts partook of the spirit of the then existing Governments. We have now a reformed Parliament—and I contend whatever grievances the people labour under, it is the duty, and I hope it will be the will, of Parliament, to redress speedily and effectually. To Parliament we must look for redress—and if the owners and occupiers of land, and consumers of produce, stick together, and press their case boldly, firmly, and respectfully—not suffering themselves to be dismissed by men who are not practically acquainted with the operation of the tithe system, or who wish to preserve tithes to their present full amount, though under another name, for the sake of the patronage connected with it—I have but little doubt that they will succeed. (Great cheering). I trust I have given abundant proof of the grievances of the tithe system, and that they ought to be redressed. I shall therefore now endeavour to show that the grievances should be modified to the extent expressed in the petition. (Hear, hear). I quite agree that a tenth of the clear annual value of the land, in lieu of tithes, chargeable on the occupier of lands, and with parliamentary and parochial charges as at present, in a maximum full high enough in favour of a tithe receiver—for, the taking the tithe in gross, of all the produce arising from the outlay of capital, is clearly an abuse, and as such ought, at least, to be modified to the extent prayed for in the petition. We have shown, I think, the justice and propriety of the petition. It therefore only now remains, to decide how to give effect to it in the best way. We naturally turn to those whom we have elected to represent us in Parliament, and I can scarcely anticipate any course that they will take, but that of giving their utmost support to the expressed wishes of the petitioners. If, however, I have been too sanguine in my expectations, I can only set down the disinclination of the representatives of the county to support the prayer of the petition, to a want of practical knowledge of the operation

of the tithe system, rather than a wilful opposition to a fair and necessary measure. I however, still hope that the members of the county, will pause and reflect on the consequences of any opposition to the wishes of their constituents on this vital measure. (Hear). One word more before I sit down. It is not impossible but an amendment may be proposed to the petition: it is perfectly competent for any person to do so—but, gentlemen, you may rest assured, that if an amendment be proposed, that it will be done with a view to nullify the effects of the petitions proposed by Mr. Hamlyn, or at all events to disunite you, and throw confusion into your ranks. (We are too firm). I therefore strongly recommend you to continue united, and not suffer yourselves to be warped by plausible arguments, or such hard words as spoliation and robbery. If there is any spoliation, it is in having continued this objectionable and odious system, so long operating unfairly against the best interests of society. The tithe system is a realization of the fable of the drones and the bees—what we want is to have some of the honey for the industrious bees—what our opponents want, is to take a much larger quantity of honey than you will be inclined to give them. I most cordially concur in the prayer of the petition, and both in, as well as out of Parliament, it shall receive my utmost support. (Great cheering, and waving of hats).

Captain BULLER, R.N., was loudly called for—Whatever, gentlemen, my feelings on this question may be, I shall try to express them with that temper and moderation which becomes a man who pleads his own cause—which becomes a man who speaks on a matter in which he has a direct and personal interest. (Cheers). The gentlemen who have been called before you, have endeavoured to show that an alteration of the tithe law, is not merely to benefit the landowner and his tenants; but it is to benefit the whole community. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I entirely concur in that opinion, and I think it the more important to dwell upon it, because it is by consulting the general interests alone that we can expect, or ask for the general support of this county. (Put on your hat). Gentlemen, the gentlemen who have moved and seconded, and supported this petition, stand before you as I stand before you, as landowners of this county, having a separate and distinct interest in the tithe levied upon their estates. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, it becomes them, and they have endeavoured to show, and I think with the utmost propriety, that it is not purely their advantage, that it is not the advantage of the landowners alone, but their argument and the particular argument of the gentleman who last addressed you is, that it will extend to the cultivator of the soil—that the cultivation of the soil will be extended, it will produce more corn, that it will find more labour for the poor, and provide the consumer with cheaper bread. (Cheers). If I had the same conviction, I should certainly pursue the same line of argu-

ment. (Hear). Gentlemen, if the tithes are private property, let them be respected as such; if we as landowners ask for a commutation of the tithes, it becomes us to show that we do it for the public interests, and it becomes us, above all that, to prove beyond dispute, that we seek not exclusively our own interests. Gentlemen, I am disposed to concur in that part of the petition which asks for a fixed commutation of tithes. I am right as a landowner to say, that the commutation will benefit the whole community. I go further. Gentlemen, I am disposed to ask for a fixed commutation. Gentlemen, the legislature as at various times and in various ways, with the view to promote the public interests, regulated and restrained the use of private property, they have enacted for instance, that a man shall not take usurious interest for his money; this is one case out of many that may be quoted, in which they have for the public interest, directly interfered with rights of even private property. If ever there was a case which called for this interference, it is the case of tithe taken in kind, (cheers); could the ingenuity of man devise any thing more prejudicial to the general interests than this law. Because a man farms well, and by his own skill and industry renders himself doubly beneficial to the whole community, because he doubles his produce, therefore he pays a double tithe—but it is not enough to tax the produce, but we must tax the very labour, skill, and capital, which benefit mankind. (Cheers). No, the improver of land, the best benefactor of man, who makes two blades of grass grow where but one grew before, may be ruined—how often is he not ruined in his career? yet the tithe-owner takes tithe on his loss. (Cheers). For all these reasons I ask for a fixed commutation for tithes: it is for this principle that I have ever contended for it; for when you fix the commutation at a certain amount, this objection ceases: the man who farms well, or who farms ill, then pays alike; the man who doubles his produce does not double his tithe. So far I agree with the petition for a fixed commutation. But, gentlemen, with regard to one part of the petition, which fixes the amount, I cannot convince myself, and all the arguments of the hon. gentleman who last addressed you have failed to convince me, that in supporting that part of the proposition I should not be supporting the exclusive interest of the landowners. Gentlemen, I know that, throughout the kingdom, every surveyor values a tithe-free estate higher than one that is subject to tithes. I know that every man of you who may have two estates, one in which the tithe would be 10*l.*, and the other 20*l.*, would ask more for the estate that was only tithed 10*l.*, than he would for the one that was tithed 20*l.* (Hear, hear). I know that tenants could afford to pay it, and I know that competition would give it. Gentlemen, every authority is against the honourable gentleman. There is not an author who has written on the

subject who has not said that tithes are a tax upon rent. ("No, no, we can't agree with you," and great disapprobation). Let me be heard—I will not be put down by clamour. The honourable gentlemen say, "No, no." It is open to them when I have been heard to be heard also. Let them produce an instance—let them quote from whom they will, I also can quote, and that too from authority equal to all the rest put together, from the author of "Wealth of Nations." He says, "Tithes are a tax upon produce; tithes are a tax upon rent; and though they appear to be paid by the tenants, they are in reality paid by the landlord." (No, no, that's all stuff). They are of all taxes the most impolitic; they ought to be commuted, they ought to become like the land-tax, a fixed charge upon the land. The very man who said this is against the whole system of tithes, and he puts it in stronger terms than almost any other man. (Hear). But if this be the question between the tithe-owner and the landowner, then it becomes us not, as landowners, to fix the amount, and to stand forward as judges in our own cause. (Yes). I say no; I will be no party to it. (Submit to the Bible: what is the tenth part of 20 shillings? that is the question). I shall move an amendment. (The honourable and gallant gentleman then proceeded to read an amendment, which was similar to the original petition, except the fixing the amount at which the tithes should be commuted. When he came to the clause which left this to be settled by the House of Commons, he was assailed by great tumult, and a demand for the tenth, or two shillings in the pound). This, gentlemen, is the amendment which I have to propose: it differs from the original petition in this respect in fixing the amount—(Great disapprobation, which prevented the honourable gentleman from proceeding).

The HIGH SHERIFF demanded a hearing for Captain Buller.

Captain BULLER said, it is a fair subject for reference; I say that the tithe-owner should not take an advantage on the one side, nor the tithe-payer on the other. For my own part, I am ready to submit to that reference, (submit it to the public), and I think if you carry that petition, you will greatly impede the settlement of this question. (Off, off, and hisses). I am willing as a landowner to submit to the King of England as an umpire. (Submit it to the Bishop. You had better leave it to the Bishop. Ask Phillpotts). It is the part of an honest servant to endeavour to profit rather than please his master; as a public servant, that has been my endeavour, and whether you adopt or reject my counsel that shall be my consolation. (Cheers and disapprobation).

EDWARD DIVEIT, Esq. M.P.—I regret that for a moment, any thing like interruption should have been offered to my honourable relative in proposing the amendment, because I wish it could have been said that the county

of Devon had disputed this question with impartiality and forbearance; and that they approached it with every disposition to settle it in a manner most conducive to the interest of the country at large. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I confess from the statement which I heard from my honourable friend—and no man understands the question better than he does, or is capable of entering more fully into it—I had hoped that the petition would not have been so positive on one point. I had hoped that I should not have had to utter one word against it, but, gentlemen, I cannot in fairness agree to any measure that comes to that conclusion now. (Great disapprobation). I trust that you will hear me, I have nothing at heart but your interest. I am not in the most remote degree connected with tithes; all my interests are those of a tithe-payer, it is therefore that I hope that this question will now have its final settlement. My hon. friend, (Capt. Hamlyn) has told you in his speech, that he does not wish to do injustice to any man; I have the same wish, but I cannot agree with him when he proposes a commutation for what he calls a tenth. (What is a tenth?) One honourable gentleman asks what is a tenth? Of course we all know what a tenth is; but if I understood the petition rightly—I may be mistaken in this respect, but if it would not be detaining you too long I should like to have the clause read.

Mr. WILLIAM WREFORD read the whole of the petition—there are hundreds of individuals I believe who have not heard it.

Mr. DIVETT read the clause. This petition tells you that they would rather let the present system continue, than come to any other arrangement on any other plan. That is what the petition says. Now I have the honour to represent in Parliament a very large and influential body of constituents, and I should feel it my duty to tell them that the prayer of that petition is one that will not only retard, but possibly prevent the settlement of the question, for a long time to come. (Disapprobation). I am merely expressing my belief. Now I am most anxious to settle this question as speedily as possible, because I believe it to be of the greatest importance that it should be; but when gentlemen come and tell us, that it is not the landlord, but the renting farmer, who would be benefited by it, I cannot assent to this, I am bound to tell you that the renting farmer, if tithes were commuted now, would not benefit one farthing by it. (That will not go down). A gentleman tells me that will not go down; now whether it does, or does not, I cannot help it. I only wish to tell you what I believe to be the truth. Before taking an estate, he has to calculate what will go to the landlord, and what will go for tithes; he calculates his outgoing and his income, and it is by that he is decided. (Great disapprobation). The increasing population of this country requires that the soil should be cultivated to the greatest possible extent; I wish to see this done, not for the benefit of

the tithe-owner, but for the benefit of the industrious farmer and the labourer that he employs. (Cheers). Now, with respect to the two shillings in the pound, there are a great many instances in which the composition is much lower than this, and others, I am bound to tell you, in which it is higher; under these circumstances I think I am right in seconding the petition of my honourable friend. (No, you are quite wrong). An honourable gentleman says I am quite wrong; that is entirely matter of opinion. I wish to settle this question without reference to any other interest than the benefit of the whole community. (Hear). With your permission I will make a few more observations on the amount. (We have had that already). I think a petition of this nature more likely to benefit the question than one which states to the legislature. (Persevere). My worthy friend, the Member for Totnes, was good enough to pay some compliments to his Majesty's Ministers: he said they were dove-tailed to the church, (a laugh), greedy of church patronage, and anxious to keep up the evils of the system—I believe that was what my honourable friend stated. Now I believe there was no ground whatever for that statement. I am sure that I have seen nothing that warrants such an imputation. They certainly do not deserve that stigma with respect to the Irish church, in which, by the abolition of the bishopricks, they have relinquished twelve or fourteen pieces of valuable patronage. (Hear, hear). They have also got rid of church-rates or cess, and if they have done so there, have we any reason to doubt their wish to do so here? (What was the last bill?) I am not here to defend that proposition. I think there was a great deal of evil in that last bill. I think there was a great deal of good also in the provision to prevent them from raising tithes above a certain amount. I am, like my honourable friend, Mr. Parrott, quite independent of them. I do not think it quite right to oppose them, when I am persuaded that they are wrong. I am not bound to uphold the opinions of any man. I come to uphold those opinions which I think to be for the benefit of the country; and I am sure I shall forward the cause which I have at heart, by recommending the proposition of my honourable friend Capt. Buller. (Citizens of Exeter, look to your man. Another voice—We all know Mr. Divett is an honourable man). The honourable member repeated his objections to the two-shilling clause, and concluded by seconding the amendment.

Mr. R. WATSON, of Dorsley.—Mr. High Sheriff and gentlemen, as a yeoman of the South Hams (long-continued cheering)—as a yeoman of the South Hams, and occupier of land to a considerable extent, I cannot for a moment stand still and hear unrefuted the opinions which have been brought forward by my honourable friends, Mr. Buller and Mr. Divett. (Cheers). There is every probability of this question being brought forward in Par-

liament early in the ensuing session, and I therefore feel it my duty to tell them, honestly and openly, the opinions of the South Hams on this subject. (Hear, hear, and cheers). We are entirely of opinion that a commutation of two shillings in the pound upon the annual clear value of the land is a just and equitable commutation; and when we have done this, we consider that we have done our duty like honest men and Christian men. (Cheers). The hon. gentleman who proposed the amendment told us, that tithes were a tax upon rent. Now I'll tell him what we in the South Hams consider it—we consider it a direct tax on capital and industry, and we do not mean to submit to it any longer. (Cheers). We admit the tithe-holder to be a sleeping partner; and as such, we, yeomen in the South Hams, are willing to give him all he can reasonably expect and honestly desire—we will give him a tenth of the profits, we will give him two shillings in the pound. (Cheers.) But what man, I should like to know, would give a tenth of the business capital, and all to a sleeping partner? (Hear, hear, and cheers). We do not wish to rob any man, nor do we mean to let any man rob us; we ask for justice, and justice we will have. (Bravo! go on, Watson). Gentlemen, I am happy to see so great a body here to-day, because I understood that the interests of the many are to be sacrificed to the interests of the few. (Hear, hear). I hope that the church will see that it is not their interest to throw any obstacles in the way of the settlement of this question. I should advise them to come forward and make terms, while they have an opportunity. (Tremendous cheers). Is it possible that we can compete with our Irish brother, is it possible that we can compete with the foreigner (or the Scotch—they have no tithes), if we are to be borne down by tithes and taxes? I say it is not possible; and therefore I hope that his Majesty's Ministers will set earnestly about the settlement of this question. ("Send him up for Totnes"). I have not the least doubt that a commutation to this extent will be just; and I have not the least doubt that it will be immediately acceded to, it will satisfy every landowner and occupier in the South Hams. It will free capital from the restraints and exactions that attend its employment on the land; it will encourage the farmer to proceed to the utmost stretch of his skill; it will afford employment to the labourer, and ease to the poor-rate, and thus avert a ruin which is every day becoming more frightful in the eyes of the people. Mr. Watson concluded (amidst long-continued cheering), after reiterating his surprise at the opinions advanced by Capt. Buller and Mr. Divett.

T. NORTHMORE, Esq.—I must offer you my double congratulation; first to the sheriff, for his goodness in having so promptly brought you together in the old, compact, and undivided form of the whole county of Devon (cheers); secondly, because it is upon a subject of the greatest possible importance, the

subject of tithes. (Cheers). It is important on three-fold grounds; the first religious, the second agricultural, and the third on that of policy. The petition has been already mentioned to you; and I think you will agree with me on the first of these grounds: and I shall bring forward an act of Parliament to prove that nothing in the world is more opposed to the spirit of Christianity than the taking of tithes in kind [to which object the hon. gentleman quoted the preamble of a statute, the title of which we did not catch]. They breed disputes and animosities without end; and where the farmer had laid out a share of the produce in the improvement of his land, they amounted not only to a tenth, but even to a sixth. (Hear). I shall say one word concerning lay-impropriators. By the canon law they were incapable of holding any tithes at all; and by the ecclesiastical law they were forbidden, under the penalty of committing sacrilege and receiving excommunication, from doing so, even though they were granted by the King. But I will look at the injustice of the present system in the present day. It is the duty of a good government to promote the happiness of the people, and prevent misery. Does the tithe system square with this? Can the farmer put extra labour on his farm—can he give good wages to the honest labourer under it? Tithes, in their origin, were ordained partly for the use of the poor. Mr. Northmore then adverted to the pressure of the poor-laws, and the mode in which the tithe-laws promoted their pressure. He said, he had met with a curious fact in the Poor-law Commission Report: Two gentlemen, Mr. Prideaux and Mr. Fraser, were examined respecting the waste lands in Devon. Mr. Fraser said there were 320,000 acres, and he firmly believed that if this land were cultivated it would yield nearly 500,000*l.*; but Mr. Prideaux said he did not doubt this, but the greatest obstacle to it was the tithe-laws. (Hear, hear). Tithes were originally for the benefit of the people; but the clergy, by gradual encroachment, had contrived to bring them to their present oppressive state. They had begun by little and little first, as it were, giving a gimblet to the people, in order that they might insinuate their own large augur. The hon. gent. then went into the subject of the three-fold division of tithes, which, he was happy to say, was still the common law of the land; for Edward the Confessor, who was the last of the Saxon kings, embodied it into the ecclesiastical law, which was still in existence. The hon. gentleman then went into other points of history, referring to the early practice with regard to tithes, in doing which he exhibited a portion of that fund of historical lore for the possession of which he is so justly celebrated. He was loudly cheered throughout; and he supported the original petition, enjoining them to get rid of the tithes, or the tithes would get rid of them. At the conclusion of his address, Lord Ebrington was loudly called for.

Col. SEALE, M.P., was warmly cheered on rising to support the petition.—Before the question is put, I will detain you a few minutes only, and with a very few words. I beg of you not to be led away by the ingenious sophistry of my two friends who have proposed and seconded the amendment. (Cheers). Gentlemen, it appears to me, that you are not met here to legislate, but to give your opinion to the legislature. (great cheering), which every honest man has a right to do. There I would advise you to give your opinion boldly, undisguisedly, and unequivocally, (cheers), and in such a shape that it shall not be misunderstood, which I think you have done in your first petition. (Cheers). You have now a House of Commons differently constituted from what our former Houses of Commons were. (Not much). You have a Reform House of Commons now; and though a noble Duke, not many years since, called county petitions a farce, yet I am happy to say that they are not considered so now. That time is past; you have a House of Commons differently constituted to what it was: you have really your own representatives there now; you have the representatives of the Commons of England; therefore, if you express your opinions, they must be heard in that House, and when you have reason and justice on your side, as you have on the present occasion, I am confident that your voice must be effective. (Continued cheers). Gentlemen, I have but one observation on what my honourable friend has just advanced. I have the honour to represent a constituency not altogether agricultural, but I do consider it my duty to appear here this day on this agricultural question, (hear, hear), because it is not a question in which the agriculturists alone are interested, but it is one in which the interests of every class of the community are more or less mixed up. (Cheers). Therefore it is that I, the representative of a commercial constituency, have felt it to be my duty to attend here to-day, and I not only give my support to this measure here, which I think is most just and reasonable, but I shall certainly do all in my power to promote its final triumph. (Long-continued cheering).

GEORGE TEMPLER, Esq., not only objected to the form and character of the petition, but was bold to say that the meeting itself was uncalled for. (Great uproar—Ah George! you're a night templer, you're quite in the dark).

The HIGH SHERIFF.—Gentlemen, it is my duty to see that every gentleman has a fair hearing; and unless you do so, I shall dismiss the meeting.

Mr. TEMPLER then proceeded to object to the petition, because the subject was now under the consideration of Government, and it was a direct interference with the Government—the petition itself a direct dictation. (Great uproar). This petition had been brought forward by a member of Parliament, and it was notorious that it had emanated from that member. (Uproar, and cries of

name). The honourable Member for Totnes. (Three cheers for the Member for Totnes were given instantaneously—several persons in the crowd exclaiming, we will have him for the county).

Mr. PARROTT.—It originated with a great body of the owners and occupiers of land, and was ultimately brought home to the door of Mr. William Wreford, who seemed by no means ashamed of having been selected to draw it up, which fact was communicated by Colonel Seale.

Mr. TEMPLER having acknowledged his mistake, had nothing further to offer that the meeting was at all inclined to hear; and after proceeding a few minutes, amidst much interruption, he relinquished his task—as not even his great talents could induce the meeting to accept his sentiments, which were duly offered.

LORD EBRINGTON (was loudly called for, and warmly cheered).—Gentlemen, it was not my intention to address you until after the motion which is about to be made, that the petition should be presented by the county members (hear, hear), but some doctrines have been laid down by my hon. friend who spoke last, against which, in this stage of the proceedings, I must enter my protest. (Cheers). I must in the first place protest against the doctrine that any county meeting called by the Sheriff for the purpose of petitioning the legislature on any subject is uncalled for (He's a pretty fellow to talk like that), if it appears that the object for which they have called that meeting, is one that demands the attention of the legislature—and if in the petition which they propose to the legislature, they express themselves as this petition is expressed, in terms of due respect to the legislature (hear); I must also protest that it is not incumbent on any member of Parliament to abstain from originating any petition; because I certainly do not conceive, that standing here as I do, as the representative of the county, I must on that account be disqualified from exercising any right of mine as a freeholder of this county (hear, hear), or from originating as a member of the legislature, or from signing, or originating, or proposing, any petition that I may think right. (Cheers). I have felt it my duty to say this, and I am sure that I say it with every feeling of respect for my

hon. friend; but I felt that to acquiesce in such sentiments as that would be to strike at the root of county meetings at once. (What do you think of that, George?). I am anxious to address you upon the subject which has given rise to the meeting, and I trust that I may be allowed to put forth some claim to your indulgence, as I was, I believe, the first person, sixteen years ago, who ventured to express my sentiments in favour of a just and equitable commutation. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I am happy to find that those sentiments—that the principle of those sentiments has been admitted by all parties on the present occasion (cheers), the necessity of the changes being admitted by the Bishop of the diocese, in his charge to his clergy, and he has added that the clergy as a body are anxious to concur in any measure of fair commutation (cheers and laughter), not seeking an equivalent for their tithes, but willing to meet the payer on terms that would be considered equitable. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, I wish from my heart that this light had broken in upon the right rev. prelate, and upon others of his order at an earlier period, (cheers); I wish from my heart, for the sake of the church as well as the state, that they had not delayed concession until concession loses more than half its grace, and I fear more than half its benefit. (Cheers). I say this as a sincere friend of the church, and I wish that the right rev. prelate, of whose production I wish to speak in terms becoming his situation in this county, I wish in the document to which I allude, that he had not included in it subjects of church reform, which do not, in my mind, agree with the object he ought to have had in view (hear, hear); and to my mind he does not appear disposed to go into that question in a very satisfactory or conciliatory spirit. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, I can make great allowance for the controversial habits and zealous party feelings of the right rev. prelate, but I think it would have been much wiser, much more discreet in a member of the legislature, and particularly a member of that bench, (hear,

hear), who are supposed to be, and who ought to be if they are not, less under the influence of political excitement than any other persons. (Hear, hear). I think it would have been much more discreet in him if he had not applied the terms "plunder and sacrilege," (hear, hear), to an act of that legislature, and which, whatever he and others may think of it, is now become a part of the law of the land, and which he in consequence is bound to obey and respect. (Cheers). Gentlemen, with respect to the terms upon which a commutation of tithes is to be effected, it is painful for me to differ from so large a portion of those around me, at the present time, among whom I see many of those, with whom, in the course of my political life, I have been in the habit of acting in unison. (Hear, hear). But I should be more sorry for the act, if I could, at a meeting like this, of my constituents, leave them in doubt whether I did or did not concur with them in this question. My hon. friend who moved the original petition, and the others who supported it, will do me the justice to say, that in expressing my dissent from those conditions which they attach to the commutation of tithes, I am expressing no new view taken up at the present time; but if my views are erroneous, which I do not think they are, at least they have the merit of being uniformly consistent. (Cheers). Gentlemen, a great part of the argument, which has been adopted in favour of the proposed plan is founded upon a notion of the tripartite division in the application and use of tithes property. (Hear, hear). Now I am certainly not learned enough in Saxon, (a laugh), to follow my honourable and learned friend (Mr. Northmore) in his able and ingenious speech, and able and ingenious his speeches always are. (No soap); in that part of his able and ingenious speech, which carries us back to the Saxon times, and to the statutes of King Edward the Confessor, because I must confess that whatever may have been the law of England at that time, I do not think we can adopt the ideas of the Saxon *witena gemote*,

a perfect model for legislation. At the present moment, I think I can challenge my honourable friend to show me a single statute, from the great charter down to the present day, in which any such tripartite division is recognised or admitted. (Disapprobation.) It is certainly true, that previous to the dissolution of monasteries, a great portion of the poor of this land were maintained by these monasteries, as is to this day the custom in Catholic countries; but I believe they were so maintained not in consequence of any right, either by statute or canon law, but by charity alone. (Mr. Northmore—By canon law.) My hon. friend says by canon law, certainly the canon law enjoined the occupiers and the members of these religious houses, as it does to the clergy in general, as it would to the laity, the general exercise of hospitality and charity. But if there were any legal right on the part of the poor to any such portion of tithes, how comes it, that, at the dissolution of the monasteries, and the presentation of the tenth to King Henry VIII., no mention whatever was made of any such claim to these religious houses? (Hear, hear). Nor in the statute of Elizabeth, which, as is well known, is the foundation and groundwork of all our poor-laws, was there any claims of that sort on the persons to whom grants were made of those abbey lands. Upon the dissolution of the monasteries, no claim whatever was brought forward by them as a right on the part of the poor to any portion of what they so possessed; and I contend that if such right had been in existence, it would surely have found a place in some of the statutes, which, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, were made for the provision of the poor. Gentlemen, we have been told that the time is now come when the interests of the few are no longer to be considered in preference to the interests of the many. (Hear). I, for one, hope, that in the course of my political life, I have, as a very humble individual, done all in my power to promote the interests of the many; and I beg to say, that in the part which I have taken in the question be-

fore you, I have no interest whatever, except that of the community at large. (Cheers). To me as a payer and not as a receiver of tithes, certainly the more reasonable terms—the cheapest on which a commutation can be effected would be the most desirable, if I consulted my own interests alone (hear, hear), but as a landowner, from the same ground as that chosen by Captain Buller and Mr. Divett, I must differ from the petition proposed (hisses); where is the man living that has less interest in promoting the existence of tithes than I have? (No, that won't do). I most heartily concur in the opinions they have expressed, convinced, that after all the benefit of the commutation will go to the landlord (how can that be?); I do not say that the tenant of an estate, where he has got a term, will not be benefited to the end of his term, but after that the rent would be raised and the benefit of the measure would go to the landlord; and where the tenant had no term the benefit at once would fall into the hands of the landlord. The forbearance of landlords in particular instances may prevent them from taking advantages of it, but surely no man in his senses will say that an estate tithe free, does not at this moment command a higher rent than one subject to tithes; and if all estates were tithe free, I very much doubt whether it would at all benefit the yeomanry. (It would benefit the labourer). My hon. friend, if he will allow me to call him so, for I think I have before had the benefits of his friendship. (The gentleman alluded to, and who, we were informed, was Mr. Nicholas Browse, of Stoke Fleming, assured his lordship he had, but never should again as long as he held these notions on the subject of tithes). My worthy friend says that the taking off of the tithes would produce a greater demand for labour; that is a self-evident proposition, and God forbid that I, who have for all my life laboured for a commutation of tithe (hear, hear), should attempt to urge that that is not the case. (Cheers). No man is more sensible than I am that such would be the effect at this moment, but I cannot concur in the doctrine of 2s. in the pound. (Great clamour).

The SHERIFF called silence, but the uproar continued for some time.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I shall not concur in the opinion, that two shillings in the pound on the net rent, being, as I suppose, it is intended to be, subject to the outgoings of poor-rates, way-rates. (No, no).

Mr. WM. WREFORD.—A clear tenth.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I beg leave to state as against the opinion of the hon. Gent., the expression of the petition; if I understood my friend the member for Totnes, and my hon. friend who brought it forward.

Capt. BULLER now read the clause in the petition.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I do not say, that if the tenth were clear, whether it would or would not be right to assent to it; but looking at the proposition as it is, the clergy to have this tenth subject to those deductions from which rent is expected.

Mr. WREFORD.—It never was contemplated.

Lord EBRINGTON.—I am very glad to hear it, but I must say that if it is so, I think in justice to ourselves the proposition should have been expressed in rather clearer terms than it is; I confess that the impression made on my mind was a very different one. I must state that I cannot make up my mind to support even that proposition, and although I am quite well aware that some instances exist among the clergy, and many more among the lay-impropriators, of persons exacting to nearly the full extent of their present right. (More) I certainly do believe, that generally speaking, the right is exercised by the clergy in this and every county with great moderation and liberality (great disapprobation); but I do not state that there are not exceptions. I can only deal with tithe as I should with any other property. I conceive that every man in this country has a right to the enjoyment of his property; subject, and subject only to that control by the legislature, which is bound to take care, that no man by the enjoyment of his own rights shall damnify or inure the public

weal, But I submit that in taking away from any individual the enjoyment of his own right, you are bound to give him a just equivalent for it. This, gentlemen, is the doctrine which I maintained sixteen years ago in this place. (Your story was different then, from what it is now). [This was said by a gentleman in front of the noble Lord, who answered him with much warmth]. I trust you all know me too well, to believe that I would alter one iota to gain that approbation, if I have ever deserved or received any approbation at your hands—(a freeholder—You deserve it, my lord; where should we have been but for Lord Ebrington?)—if I have, I have done so through adhering to that cause, through good and evil report; and I assure my honourable friend, that I value too much the approbation which I have gained on that account ever to forfeit it, even for the purpose of securing the applause of a meeting more numerous than this. (Continued cheering). I certainly cannot doubt that it is the opinion of a majority of this meeting, and I can only say that I have been too much accustomed to be left in the minority, to feel hurt at that circumstance on the present occasion, or to repent having expressed my opinion at all. In doing this allow me to say, that if you think fit to intrust the petition to me (No, no); I hear a gentleman say no, no, and I confess that this expression gives me double satisfaction, at having given you my opinion firmly, before the question came, whether I should present your petition or not. But I trust I need hardly assure you, that if you do intrust to me the presentation of it, that differing, as I do in opinion from it, I shall be fully ready to do justice to the weight and respectability of those who compose this meeting. (Hear, hear). A gentleman behind me says, Support the petition. If he had intended to prevail by argument, and certainly I have heard no argument which has had any effect in my mind, I should not have been taken by the mode in which he has expressed himself. The noble Lord concluded, by repeating his willingness to

present the petition, and do justice to the meeting.

Mr. BULTEEL was loudly and generally called for, but

Mr. HAMLYN stood forward, and explained his intention respecting the tenth to be, that the tithe-owner should have a tenth part of the rent in the same way as the landlord. It was not often his lot to differ from the noble lord; and when they did differ, he was sure that it was on the ground of the most rigid principle. He knew the noble lord would not swerve from principle to gain the approbation of the whole world. (Great cheering). In answer to Capt. Buller's assertion, that the tenant would gain nothing by the change, the honourable gentleman said,—It has been asserted by my gallant friend, Capt. Buller, that the tenant would not derive any benefit from a change in the tithe laws. What, then, hath the tenant no beneficial interest? The landlord lets his land, as a shop is let, for the exercise of his capital. Suppose a man rents his loom, the weaver works up an expensive breadth of cloth, and adds a complicated piece of machinery; is it of no consequence to him that a tenth of his cloth is taken? I have heard, too, that the meeting should not have been called. Surely the requisition, signed by two thousand persons, is a sufficient answer to this. The last bill proposed did not meet the wishes of the people, and therefore it was surely more manly, more like Englishmen, at once to meet, and state our wishes.

The SHERIFF now put the amendment, for which there were but a very few advocates in the meeting.

Mr. HAMLYN's petition was then put and carried by an overwhelming majority in the most enthusiastic manner.

Mr. NORTHMORE proposed a resolution for the petition to be presented in the House of Commons, by the county members; in doing which he spoke of the right of the constituency, to command their members as their servants.

Mr. STUDDY seconded the motion, which being carried,

Lord EBRINGTON repeated his observations about presenting the petition

and dissented from the position of servitude, which Mr. Northmore had laid down.

Mr. FELLOWES was understood to make some similar observations.

Mr. BULTEEL, M. P. entirely concurred in that part of the petition which declared tithes to be oppressive, and subversive of the best interests of religion. He went farther, he believed them to be one of the most oppressive taxes upon skill and industry that could possibly have been devised, (cheers), a permanent and decided course must be taken to alter the whole system. (Cheers). He wished it to be so decided that the question should never again be mooted. He was not prepared to say what the commutation should be, but it should be one that should do no injury to any party. (A laugh). He was no friend to the terms supremacy and ascendancy, yet he would never do any thing to the church that would lead to her degradation or injury. He would never place the poor clergyman, of whom there were hundreds, with respectable wives and families, born as he had been under the influence of a certain system, in such a position as that he should lose one-third of his income. (Hear, hear). He would not deprive him of the means of living, and then compel him to go to prison to pay his debts. (Hear, hear). He would base the commutation upon the low average of the tithe, which is now considered a fair tithe, but he would not go to the legislature, telling them that it should be a certain sum, and no more, nor any less. (We won't have it otherwise). In that then he fairly told them that he could not concur. (We will get those that will!). He felt bound in honesty to tell them this. The hon. gent. concluded by noticing the strictures on the Ministers which had been made by the hon. member for Totnes. He doubted if they were discarded, whether the nation would get a honester set of men to serve them.

J. RUNDLE, Esq. (Tavistock), rose to propose that the members for the boroughs in the county be requested to support the prayer of the petition. (Cheers). He believed there was no

injustice in the course they had proposed, even if they had gone the whole length which the noble lord (Ebrington) had thought they had, with regard to the subjecting of the 2s. in the pound to its fair share in the burdens of the rent. (Cheers). He did not go with those who condemned the reform Ministry and Parliament, though he believed the tithe-bill of last year to have been one of the most atrocious things that was ever introduced. (Cheers). All that he understood from it was, that it was to secure to the tithe-owner all he should be able to exact, and exempt him from the payment of rates. (Hear, hear). It was a most atrocious reward for those who had been severe and unjust in their exactions, and a punishment for those who had followed an opposite line of conduct. With regard to what had been said about the original destination of tithes, he observed, that there was an old principle which the clergy clung to with great tenacity, and as he was not much of a Latin scholar, he would give it them in English, "That no time stops the claims of the church"; but the application of this principle depended entirely upon the way in which it operated. It was always used in their favour, but never when it made against them. He again urged the justice of the two-shillings-in-the-pound clause, and commended the rejection of the amendment. He had just put into his hand an opinion of my Lord Brougham, that the large and expensive establishment was not necessary; it arose out of the comparison between the church of Scotland and that of England. "Strange as it might appear," said the noble and learned Lord — "and to many who hear, incredible, from one end of Scotland to the other, you will see no such thing as a bishop (a laugh); not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John o' Groats, not a mitre, no, not even a minor canon, nor even a rural dean, (laughter); and in all the land not even a single curate, so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland. (Cheers and laughter). In such utter darkness do they sit, that they support no cathedrals; maintain

"no pluralists; suffer no non-residents; nay, the poor benighted creatures are ignorant of tithes; not a sheep nor a lamb nor a pig, (laughter), nor the value of a single penny do these helpless mortals render from year's end to year's end. (Cheers). Piteous as is their lot, what makes it infinitely more touching is, the return of good for evil in the demeanour of this wretched race (laughter); under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are actually the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people anywhere perhaps to be found in the world." (Continued cheering). Mr. Bulteel, one of your members, drew a piteous description of the poor curates of the church of England being liable to be borne down by this intended commutation their incomes reduced and themselves thrown into prison for not paying their debts. If ever that calamity should arise, and the poor curates should be thrown into prison, why then let the rich bishops take them out (laughter); and if the rich bishops do not like the trouble, then we can just take a little of their wealth, and get the poor curates out ourselves. (Cheers and laughter). The hon. gent. concluded by moving the resolution, that the borough members be requested to support the prayer of the petition.

Mr. WATSON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Col. SEALE and Mr. PARROTT both acquiesced in the views of the meeting on this subject; and thanks to the Sheriff having been moved by Sir H. P. Davie, and seconded by Mr. Parrott, and carried by acclamation, the meeting dispersed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

STAPLES, R. P., London, merchant.
WHITE, J. and G., Kentish-town and Highgate, stage-coach-proprietors.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, G. A., Dockhead, Shad Thames, Surrey, baker.
COOK, J., Narrow-street, Ratcliffe, biscuit-baker.

FERRERS, T. B., and L. J. Mackintosh, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, stock-brokers.

FINNEY, D., Berwick-street, Soho, licensed-victualler.

HALL, R., Nottingham, innkeeper.

HASSAL, J. S., Liverpool, insurance-broker.

KING, W. H., Basingstoke, Hampshire, tea-dealer.

LANCASTER, H., Tunbridge-wells, Kent, upholsterer.

STOKES, S., Liverpool, merchant.

THOMPSON, J., Old Montague-st., White-chapel, common-brewer.

TUESDAY, FEB. 18, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BIRD, W. Fareham, Hants, builder and bricklayer.

MOUSLEY, E., Haunton, Stafford, maltster.

BANKRUPTS.

BENSON, T., Bishop Wearmouth, grocer.

BRADDOCK, J., Chestergate, Macclesfield, hatter.

BRIGHTWEN, I., Providence-row, Worship-street, veterinary-surgeon.

BUCKELL, T., Newport, Isle of Wight, surgeon.

COOKE, F., Kidderminster, carpet-manufacturer.

CORBETT, J. F., Worcester, coal-merchant.

FLETCHER, J., and G. Frederick, Manchester, hosiers.

FOX, G., Manchester, artists' colourman.

GRIMSDALE, H., High Wycombe, Berks.

JAY, J., Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, upholsterer.

LEWIS, H. and L., Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, glass-dealers.

KENT, W., Plymouth, brewer.

PERCEVAL, C., Whitechapel High-street, oil and colourman.

RICHMOND, W., Tynemouth, ship-owner.

ROBERTS, R., Carmarthen, draper.

SHAW, R., Lyme Regis, Norfolk, corn-merchant.

VAUDREY, A., Manchester, rectifier.

WARING, T., Little Windmill-street, Golden-square, builder.

WATSON, J., jun., Rotherham, tin-plate-manufacturer.

WIGAN, J., Bristol, scrivener.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 17.—

The supplies this morning from the home counties were moderate, but the trade ruling extremely heavy, they proved more than adequate to the demand; though the Kent and Essex samples exhibited an improvement in their condition, yet the millers evinced little disposition to purchase; and even the better qualities moved off slowly at the currency of this day se'nnight, while all secondary

and inferior descriptions were almost unsaleable, though no doubt lower terms would have been accepted, to have effected any clearance. Bonded Wheat continued to meet demand for export, principally to the Brazils.

Malting Barley, of good quality, supported last Monday's rates, and Chevalier was in rather better demand at 33s. to 35s., prime, 36s. The secondary descriptions, however, with distilling and grinding sorts, were difficult of disposal at rather lower terms.

Malt remains dull at former prices.

The supply of English and Scotch Oats was liberal, but from Ireland we have had few arrivals. The trade was very heavy, and last week's prices barely supported.

Beans hang on hand, and White Peas proved heavy sale, with prices tending downwards. Maple and Grey were firm.

Flour was again a very heavy trade, and Ship marks did not recover the previous week's decline of 1s. to 2s. per sack. Irish, 37s. to 38s.; extra 39s.

Wheat.....	50s. to 58s.
Rye.....	—s. to —s.
Barley.....	23s. to 25s.
— fine.....	28s. to 31s.
Peas, White.....	—s. to —s.
— Boilers.....	35s. to 38s.
— Grey.....	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small.....	33s. to 37s.
— Tick.....	22s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato.....	22s. to 23s.
— Feed.....	17s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack.....	43s. to 48s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new....	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	80s. to 83s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 87s.
— Cork	73s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford..	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, February 17.

This day's supply of Sheep and Beasts was both great and good; its supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited, and in great part—especially as relates to the former—of inferior quality. Trade was, throughout, very dull, with Veal at a depression of from 4d. to 8d., Pork, 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef and Mutton at barely Friday's quotations.

Full four-fifths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short horns, Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts; the remaining fifth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Irish, and Sussex Beasts, and Town's-end Cows, with a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs; about a fifth new Leicesters, in about equal proportions of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters,

Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, old Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,800 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of short-horns and Devons; with a few Herefords and Welsh runts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 600, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, Scots, and Welsh runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern grazing districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, Herefords, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from our midland and western districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex, with a few Irish beasts, runts, and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

About 350 of the beasts came up the St. Alban's road; about 300 up the other northern roads; about 150 from the western and midland districts; about 1,800 from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100 from Sussex and Kent; and most of the remainder from the stall-feeders, &c., near to London.

Fat long-wooled Sheep have become, on account of the high prices (15s. each) of their skins, worth fully as much per stone as fat South-Downs.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 21.

The arrivals this week are good. The prices the same as on Monday; a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	89½	89½	89½	89½	89½	89½

Just published, price 4d.,

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2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
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The discoverer of this invaluable Specific for Gout and Rheumatism is a professional man, who, after many years' practice and research, has proved, by facts, that these Pills will effectually cure every description of Gout and Rheumatism. In Gout, whatever be the parts attacked, the first dose generally removes the pain; the swelling also quickly abates, and by a short continuance of the use of the Pills, the patient will soon be restored.

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These Pills have repeatedly succeeded after bathing, shampooing, and all the usual internal and external remedies have failed; and it is their peculiar property, that the first dose completely arrests the frequent tendency of those Diseases to attack some vital part, while, if attacked, the symptoms are immediately and effectually removed.

It may be added, as satisfactory information, that its use requires neither confinement nor any particular regimen; that in no case has its effects been injurious, but in relation to general health, highly salutary and restorative.

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